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ABSTRACT

The American college presidency is examined, with attention to characteristics of those who become college presidents, how long they serve and where they go after leaving the presidency, and internal/external factors affecting their performance. The analysis is based in part on 800 interviews with presidents, their spouses, and other close associates that were undertaken for a 1984 report, "Presidents Make A Difference: Strengthening Leadership in Colleges and Universities." Brief notes on 24 college presidents illustrate the diversity of these leaders. Reasons presidents give for seeking/accepting and refusing presidencies are identified. The book also considers: experiences of new presidents; similarities between college presidents and corporate executives; general responsibilities of the executive group and board and core responsibilities of the president; skills required of the president; strategies and styles employed by presidents; historical trends affecting the presidency; external influences such as public regulation; internal influences such as student and staff input; four presidential models; and the context of 11 types of institutions. Appended materials include: advice offered by 16 presidents, attributes considered by presidential search committees, and a nine-page annotated bibliography. (SW)

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THE MANY LIVES
OF ACADEMIC PRESIDENTS
Time, Place & Character

by Clark Kerr and Marian L. Gade

Funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York

Association of Governing Boards
of Universities and Colleges

Washington, D.C.

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To Ted Hesburgh, who has done more both on campus and off, and done it better, than anyone else.

To David Riesman, who knows more about higher education, and shares it more willingly, than anyone else.

To all those we interviewed who trusted our discretion with their confidential views so that others might learn.

. . . one of the great functions of leaders is to help a society to achieve the best that is in it.

John Gardner
Excellence

Old people are fond of giving good advice; it consoles them for no longer being capable of setting a bad example.

François, Duc de La Rochefoucauld
Maxims

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Foreword

When AGB established the National Commission on Strengthening Presidential Leadership in 1982, we knew the subject of academic presidencies was worth looking into. But we weren't sure what we would find.

After thousands of hours of interviews, investigation, and analyses, the national commission—a group of distinguished educators, presidents and chancellors and their spouses, legislators, association executives, and trustees—issued *Presidents Make A Difference: Strengthening Leadership in Colleges and Universities*. In that 1984 report, the commission and its director, Clark Kerr, concluded that the college presidency is in trouble. The book made a number of recommendations for governing board members to help strengthen the position overall and help presidents cope with the job's many demands.

But *Presidents Make A Difference* did more than recommend; it refocused public attention on one of the most visible but least-understood roles in contemporary society. For too long, college presidents have been taken for granted. For too long, their contributions have gone unappreciated.

In this new volume, Clark Kerr and Marian L. Gade have taken on the greater task of analyzing the state of the American college presidency and the many forces acting upon it and within it. This book is based in large part on the frontline investigative legwork done for *Presidents Make A Difference*, but the heart of *The Many Lives of Academic Presidents* comes from Kerr's and Gade's own unique insights into the history of higher education here and abroad, the trends shaping presidential conduct, plus the underlying factors influencing boardroom decision making.

AGB is proud to publish this work, which we believe will become a landmark in the literature of higher education. As this book

makes clear, presidents run the gamut from saint to scapegoat in the public eye. The pressures of the job and the constraints upon it are greater than ever. Fortunately, there doesn't seem to be a shortage of qualified people willing to take on such tasks; but, as Kerr and Gade point out, that situation may be changing rapidly and it's time to do something about it.

In these pages, you will find that Kerr and Gade have done their work well. The book examines what kinds of people with what kinds of backgrounds become college presidents, how long they serve on the job and where they go after leaving it, and the internal and external factors affecting their performance.

A special feature of this book is its extensive appendices, detailed chapter notes, and annotated bibliography that stand as an incomparable resource on presidents and presidencies. In no other volume can be found such a collection of anecdotes and examples of effective leaders and leadership styles culled from the writings of this century's pathbreaking campus executives.

As Kerr and Gade know well—and point out in this book—it is often by dint of presence, ingenuity, and sheer survival skills that today's presidents keep their institutions running smoothly and, occasionally, on the course to greatness. College and university presidents are a treasured national resource and deserve to be treated as such. We all have reason to be grateful for their dedication and trustees have the responsibility to recognize it.

The Many Lives of Academic Presidents and its predecessor volume are long-needed steps in that direction. We are grateful to the Carnegie Corporation for its support in making these resources possible.

Robert L. Gale
President
Association of Governing Boards
of Universities and Colleges

Preface

This report is a sequel to *Presidents Make A Difference: Strengthening Leadership in Colleges and Universities* (1984). That report—based on interviews with more than 800 presidents, former presidents, spouses of presidents, and others associated with presidents of colleges and universities—concentrated on operational decisions that would aid in strengthening leadership in higher education institutions.

This sequel draws on the same 800 interviews but also on other materials including related studies. In contrast with the first report, this volume concentrates on an analysis of the academic presidency and of how its conduct is affected by changing times, by diverse campus environments, and by the varying styles and strategies and tactics of its incumbents. The central theme is that, to understand the presidency, it is necessary to appreciate the context of each individual presidency—to comprehend the tyrannies of time and of place, but also to appreciate the vagaries of human behavior in approaching decisions. The theme is that there is no such thing as *the* presidency in the singular, only presidencies in the plural; and no such thing as *the* presidential type. Thus, this report elaborates "the diversity of the contexts within which presidencies are conducted," a concept the prior report emphasized but did not describe in detail.

This second report does, nevertheless, supplement the first report, when, at the end, it draws implications from this analysis for the conduct of boards of trustees and of presidents (Chapter 15).

There are approximately 3,200 institutions of higher education in the United States. Our study applies to about 2,400 of them. We did not interview among the private two-year college group, and there are about 300 such colleges; nor did we interview in specialized institutions, such as schools of theology, and there are more than

500 of them. The comments that follow will apply to some degree to these 800 presidencies also, but our sense of the extent of this applicability is not as sure as it is for presidencies in those types of institutions in which we interviewed widely; however, we expect that variations among these 800 institutions would be very substantial.

While this book is about college presidents, much of what is said can be related to city mayors and to city managers, to principals and to superintendents of schools, to hospital administrators, to deans of medical and other professional schools, and to coaches of competitive sports teams—all of whom work in environments of mixed constituencies, of conflicts of interests, of constant time pressures, of evaluations by many persons on the basis of many contrasting tests of performance, of uncertainties about their endurance in the position. These are all positions that test strategies and tactics and skills and character. They belong to that dwindling category of jobs attained and held strictly on merit and performance, not on partial or complete seniority as within the protections of private and public bureaucracies, or on the ownership of property or having a specialization.

The men and women who hold these positions are on the margins of many groups but at the center of an entire social process. They *must* belong in part to many groups but can afford to belong to none of them in whole. Perched on so many peripheries, they inhabit the center all by themselves.

These multiple-constituency leaders are politicians who also administer, administrators who also preach, preachers who also must balance accounts, accountants of finance who must simultaneously balance the books of personal relations, human affairs accountants who must survive today tomorrow, planners of the future whose own careers have an uncertain future. They are the glue that holds their communities together, the grease that reduces friction among the moving parts, and the steering mechanism that guides any forward motion.

All these stressful positions are highly challenging to those who hold them and highly useful to society. To appreciate them in depth, it is necessary to contemplate the many intermixtures of time, of place, and of character that constrain the diverse lives of those who manage these positions, as we seek to do here for academic presidents. This involves the same preoccupation that so fascinated the ancient Greek playwrights: how the individual character responds to the Fates that are sometimes kind and sometimes unkind: "Good fortune is a God among men" (Aeschylus); but "of

all human ills, greatest is fortune's wayward tyranny" (Sophocles).

A third report in this series will be a monograph by David Riesman.

These three reports are sponsored by the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, and have received financial support from The Carnegie Corporation of New York and The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. We express particular appreciation to Alden Dunham of the Corporation and Ernest Boyer of the Foundation.

Martin Trow and David G. Brown read a late draft of the manuscript and offered helpful suggestions.

Maureen Kawaoka has served, with great skill, as the administrative secretary to this project.

Clark Kerr
Marian L. Gade

Observations

This volume contains a set of reflections that are in part the outcome of the interviews and other research which went into the creation of *Presidents Make a Difference: Strengthening Leadership in Colleges and Universities*, the report by Clark Kerr, speaking for the National Commission on Strengthening Presidential Leadership—a commission composed primarily of trustees and presidents. To the commonsensical reader, whether in or out of the academy, this title might seem farfetched, as if presidents might be thought *not* to make a difference. Faculty members quite commonly fear, and occasionally hope, that presidents will make a difference. Trustees and search committees looking for a new president specify criteria with varying emphases among academic, intellectual, managerial, political, and promotional skills, but invariably on the assumption that the skills sought are related to the tasks in hand.

However, there have been some influential skeptics, from Leo Tolstoy in *War and Peace* through Karl Marx (in *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*) to some contemporary social scientists who regard leaders as epiphenomena, whether self-deceived and self-inflated to believe they are in charge, or self-flagellating for failure to live up to an heroic idea. (To be sure, the belief in an heroic ideal changes with time, place, and circumstance, as the acute British observer, Marcus Cunliffe, noted in *George Washington: Man and Monument*.)

In *The Many Lives of Academic Presidents*, Clark Kerr and Marian Gade take issue with the pungent and influential views of Michael Cohen and James G. March in *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President*. The book, and later works of March, stress the ambiguities of presidential roles and the "organized anarchy" of an enterprise with as few clear goals and as many complex and contradictory missions as a college or university. Cohen and March

also contend that, by the time someone is selected as a president, the chances are that one person could fill the symbolic and other roles about as well as another, and that too much fuss is made about so inchoate a theme as leadership. *Leadership and Ambiguity*, however, is far from a mischievous book intended to *épater* those of us who are solemn about academic life; it contains useful data and shrewd observation. Of course, Kerr, Gade, and I recognize that presidents have considerably less power than they once did, as American egalitarianism, belief in participation, and suspicion of authority have remained endemic. However, I also agree with Kerr and Gade that leaders do more than count and report, more than take ceremonial parts—though it would be foolish to underestimate the significance of these—and in general that leaders could be more wisely chosen, more securely supported, and hence more quietly effective.

Discussion of some of the major studies of leadership in and out of the academy is only one, and perhaps not the most important, element in *The Many Lives of Academic Presidents*. Indeed, through personal and vicarious experience, voracious reading, and conducting hundreds of interviews, Clark Kerr and Marian Gade have reinforced their awareness that there is no single presidential "type" and no all-encompassing typology of presidential character or style. They have disaggregated and then disaggregated again the multiple classifications of academic institutions, and find always the idiosyncracy of presidencies. The authors move easily from biography to ethnography.

In Kerr's *The Uses of the University* (1963: third edition, with a new postscript, 1982) there is a luminous look at leadership in the eminent state universities which depend on and serve local publics while at the same time competing with the most eminent private research universities in their national and international horizons. This local and at times nativist base provides often precarious support for the national aspirations of entrepreneurial scholars and scientists and the sometimes wide visions of ambitious but vulnerable presidents.

However, *The Many Lives of Academic Presidents* reveals again and again the isolation, even loneliness, of the president, who is in the position of servant of multiple constituencies with their multiple and conflicting moralities. Thanks to this isolation, presidents often seek each other out for solace and support, for hardly anyone else, save the spouse and the secretary, can be trusted with confidences; and hardly anyone else can understand either the

games or the myriad players. This new book by Kerr and Gade—the latter a perceptive interviewer of presidents and interpreter of their situations—should bring to many presidents now in office the consolation of knowing that their often endless difficulties do not betoken that there is something wrong with them!

From the dramas of presidential lives, Kerr and Gade have extracted brief, telling vignettes to bring vividness to their typologies and tables. The latter provide some generalizations concerning the sorts of presidents to be found along the ecological niches and frontiers where they and their institutions seek to position themselves in the fierce competitions of the academic marketplace for students, faculty, staff, external support—a mix of tasks differentially pursued in different settings, different eras, and different definitions concerning how presidents should spend their time and diverse talents. The stressfulness and in many cases the insecurity of the presidential position is illustrated by their finding that half of the academic vice presidents would rather stay where they are than move into the presidency with its greater visibility and risk and greater distance from the academic side of the enterprise.

Indeed, one of the chief findings of the Kerr-Gade interviews with presidents and those around them is the growing power of the provosts/academic vice presidents who see themselves as speaking more for the faculty than to the faculty, maintaining a degree of colleagueship which accession to the presidency would break. Yet provosts are also people in the middle, the quality of whose working lives depends on having a president whom they find compatible and a faculty not too filled with solipsistic "jungle fighters" (Michael Maccoby's term from *The Gamesman*)—particularly when funds or enrollments are static or declining. Kerr and Gade delineate the extent to which new presidents find provosts and other "untouchables" already in place, often with board support. While the president serves at the pleasure of the board, those officials who report to him or her may sometimes conclude that they will outlast this president also, as they outlasted the predecessor.

Where is the president, outside of the evangelical and other church-related colleges, who does not encounter ungenerosity at best and malevolence at worst from faculty members? These dispositions, the authors note, may occasionally be curbed by the bargaining and negotiating structure of a union. This is not said on my part out of sympathy for faculty unions, which I think are often anti-academic, but out of recognition that this country's "delirium

of due process" (Michel Crozier's term) can sometimes be even more maniacal in the absence of a businesslike and not too extravagantly grievance-prone union. Commonly in some of the more selective institutions with eminent and entrepreneurial faculty, presidents seek to develop ways of reminding themselves that not all their faculty members are out to do the minimum amount of teaching and institutional service for the largest emoluments they can extract! They try to remain aware of the invisible faculty often blocked out by the static created by the participatory and adversarial faculty culture.

One participant to whom this book gives much attention is the presidential spouse, generally female, who can no longer be taken for granted as a partner. Kerr and Gade report the impact of contemporary feminist movements on attitudes toward presidents' wives, attitudes in some measure shared by the wives themselves. One extreme feminist position insists that all of us should act as if we were androgynous atoms, and that presidents' wives cannot be fulfilling themselves if they see themselves as partners in their husbands' adventure and not primarily in terms of having an independent career. In general, the more eminent the faculty, the more acceptable such views will be.

But among the trustees and in the larger community, there is not only acceptance but expectation that wives should want to do what many find themselves doing, along with their husbands, in fund raising and other tasks, and at times as pinch hitters for their husbands. While Kerr and Gade in my judgment rightly compare the academic president to the big-city mayor in terms of pressures and the dailiness of hazard, they note that the president's wife is very different from the mayor's wife, and rather more like the first lady of a state. In the best cases (for both sexes), the spouse is a partner, giving psychological support and political counsel at home and abroad, and sharing in the necessary but often shortchanged tasks of the family. However a spouse presents herself—avant-garde feminist or traditional—she is not likely to find her situation comfortable. The more traditional types are subjected to criticism from the already sufficiently envious if they do not measure up to their predecessors. In one instance, Kerr and Gade observe, the wife of a newly installed president of a southern liberal arts college was told that she must wear white gloves at all official functions—and this on a campus with its small share of assertive feminists for whom

the image of the southern belle as presidential lady is theater of the absurd.

It is issues like this that give the work of Kerr and Gade its contemporaneity and usefulness for the boards of trustees, the search committees and their consultants, and for the incumbents—all of those who fumble with the questions of presidential roles, presidential spouses, and presidential succession.

Presidential succession is an anomaly. Unlike monarchies and corporations where leaders are groomed for the task, college presidents are almost universally amateurs, over three-quarters of them coming from outside the institution, and of these the great majority not previously a president. Kerr and Gade refer to *The Education of a College President*, in which James R. Killian, Jr., describes how Gerard Swope, president of General Electric, an MIT alumnus and a member of its corporation, proposed in 1928 a scheme later developed to give MIT not only an arranged succession, but a role for the ex-president; he would be appointed chairman of the corporation, with the task of fund raising and a chance to advise within a tradition of nonintrusion. Such care in planning can occur in religious orders, although as vocations decline and there are fewer priests or nuns with managerial interest and expertise, such planned successions also decline. Indeed, to continue the analogy to business corporations, changing conditions have forced them sometimes to go outside for a new executive, as Du Pont did some years ago when instead of a scion-chemical-engineer they went outside the family and chose Irving Shapiro, an outstanding lawyer, as president. Kerr and Gade note the rise of lawyers also in academic leadership, reflecting the wish for an unspecialized generalist as well as for someone who can cope with government regulations and with what might be called the academic malpractice bar.

Yet, *The Many Lives of Academic Presidents* refracts the careers of many presidents who cope superbly, and who find the very challenges and intractabilities of their position more gratifying than any likely alternatives. A few of these are men and women who have come from outside of academia. A lawyer, a government official, a banker, a Foreign Service officer, a foundation official may welcome a college or university presidency as at once a preferred vocation of service and an opportunity, like a knight's move in chess, to work on an unexpected level of mobility and visibility; in their joint and several spheres, the presidential partners can

employ the "bully pulpit" for institutional advance and personal satisfaction.

Many who come to the presidency from a regular academic career have, if scientists, concluded that they are not going to win a Nobel Prize or, if scholars, a Pulitzer or other comparable prize; for them, life in the presidency pays better for its redundancies and its demand on personal resilience. A quarter of the presidents Kerr and Gade interviewed would like to leave where they are now if they knew how; another quarter expressed contentment (even though some of the wives of the latter have misgivings). Among the other half of the large number who were interviewed, the presidential lot appears to be accepted with a certain fatalism.

Yet these cross-pressures of feeling and fit make their contribution to the authors, finding that "the many lives of academic presidents" are commonly spent as a half-life in any particular presidency. This fact reflects in most cases how long it takes to learn as a neophyte what goes on and what is feasible in a particular locale; there follows the accumulation of opponents as one disappoints one after another of one's many constituencies; and then the periods of anxiety—latent from the inception—as one wonders, while still in the full flush of energy, where one can find a cheerfully better or at least not worse place to which to move. Their book should help trustees see that it would be wise to lengthen presidential terms by appreciating, from the very outset, the frequently almost impossible task of being a president, and the anxieties it involves. A new president, in his or her first presidency, is unlikely to share those anxieties with the board for fear of seeming demanding or insecure at the very moment one wants to appear poised and sanguine. However, many presidents report that those who chair their boards of trustees have become supportive allies with whom the presidents can speculate freely and in confidence concerning the problems and prospects the board and the campus leadership face.

Kerr and Gade draw on writings by and about presidents, some of whom are still alive, who were in office a long time and had an opportunity by pertinacity and persuasion to improve their institutions—outcomes then emulated by other less original or venturesome academic leaders. One peril to length of service today, however, is the growing insistence that presidents be evaluated in some formal fashion at periodic intervals, a pattern aimed to provide feedback, which can become instead a harvest of grievances

from faculty, students, staff, and alumni; and in fear of this, presidents may become too timid, worried that they cannot go elsewhere if they make many enemies at their present home base. Getting fired can hardly be a recommendation for academic longevity; the widespread realization that presidential terms are short then becomes self-confirming and sets a moral as well as a statistical norm. Just because there is no regular career line leading to the presidency (community colleges are in this respect something of an exception), it would seem important to find some way to extend the terms of service of those who learn on the job, and who can in turn help—as the Kerr and Gade book helps—novices to become our future intellectual and academic leaders.

David Riesman
Henry Ford II Professor Emeritus of Social Sciences
Harvard University

Presidents and Presidencies

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The 10,000— All Different

1

3

Approximately 5,000 persons will have served as college and university presidents in the 1980s and a similar number in the 1990s—10,000 people by the end of the century.[1] They will have been chosen out of perhaps 50,000 seriously considered persons in each decade who nominated themselves, were nominated by others, or were otherwise considered. Their selections as presidents will have taken place in the midst of intense interest by all trustees, by many faculty members, by a few alumni and students, and by the press. No other campus personnel selections will have drawn such attention.

These presidents will have operated in a multiple series of environments, most marked by a context of confusion about goals, of inconsistent pressures for action and for no action, of substantial constraints, and of opportunities small and great but occasionally nonexistent. The appointed presidents (and often their spouses) will have had their skills tested quite intensely, and their personalities and characters placed under substantial pressures. These 10,000 leaders will have been evaluated, and criticized, and praised to varying degrees by trustees (50,000 in total at any one time), by faculty members (750,000 in total at any one time), and by students, alumni, and community members in the millions. The histories of institutions will be written about the contributions of these presidents as central characters in the ongoing dramas.

Most presidents at the start of each decade will have departed by the end of that decade due to age, to their own choice, or to the choice of others, so that three generations of presidents will have passed by between 1980 and 2000.

Nearly all these presidents will have affected their institutions in some significant manner and occasionally in major ways.

Some institutions will have survived because of their presidents while a few will have failed for the same reason; some institutions will have improved marginally while others will have declined, again marginally, due to their efforts. Occasionally an institution will have been moved clearly ahead; and, rarely, some segment of higher education—or even all of higher education—will have been clearly advantaged because of some president's contributions. These are the ultimate tests of performance that very few ever pass.

Overall, the fortunes of higher education institutions will be affected more by the actions of these 10,000 persons, between now and the year 2000, than by any other similar-sized group of individuals within the academic community; and, on balance, the effects will be clearly for the better. To study these presidents and what they do and how they do it is to study higher education more generally, for their positions are central to its development; is to observe changing American society at work on one set of institutions of central importance that has great sensitivity to swirling social currents; and is, also, to see human nature performing under stress.

These 10,000 people are and will be enormously diverse in their abilities, in their characters, in their motivations, in their personalities. They do not and will not conform to any single stereotype—not to Moses leading his people out of the wilderness, not to Mr. Chips beloved by all, not to Mark Hopkins the great friend and teacher sitting on one end of the log with a student on the other, not *The Masters* maneuvering for preferment, not to Dr. Strangelove using fresh knowledge to create a new world or no world at all, not to the Captains of Erudition serving the Captains of Industry, not to the Prince coldly calculating tactics, not to the New Men of Power controlling the masses, not to the Gamesmen getting to the top and trying to stay there.[2] Yet some presidents will conform with each of these models, and nearly all will reflect aspects of two or more.

The 10,000 will have chosen themselves and will have been chosen by others for many reasons and to serve many purposes. They will have come out of the diverse worlds of higher education and the even more diverse worlds of human nature. A universal characteristic of presidents is their diversity. Institutions of higher education are seldom the "lengthened shadow of one man" to the extent they ever were—and some were; yet the president may still cast more of a shadow than anyone else—and most do—and their shadows take many forms. These presidents, in their diversity, will

have contributed, in turn, to keeping the world of American higher education safe for the diversity that has marked it throughout its history.

What a governing board and the faculty committee advising it get is not always what they see in advance. What they see in advance is largely credentials—degrees, publications, positions held, plus a surface performance in an artificial situation (the interview). Appointees mostly come from the outside, and reference sources have mixed motives in making their recommendations as well as increasing degrees of caution in making their comments. What they get is a person who must make second and third and repeated impressions (rather than one alone) and in very diverse roles of executive, salesperson, negotiator-mediator-arbitrator, policymaker, symbol. Nor does the potential president necessarily get what he or she sees in brief acquaintance with the institution.

Both sides gamble. There are no uniform parts to fit uniform slots. Any actual fit is more likely to be roughly biological than precisely mechanical. Yet it is surprising how often the gamble pays off, given how little the parties really know in advance about each other and how various they are in their respective comformations.

Portraits

In the process of interviewing hundreds of presidents and others for this study, we talked with a wide assortment of individuals, each one telling us his or her experiences, sometimes in great detail. We have chosen a few to set forth in capsule form based on what they said and what we observed, as follows:

- In the "Old Main" of an Ivy League university, with its lawns and great trees, the extremely bright and energetic president of one of the world's leading universities uses every last bit of his enormous ability to strengthen the institution's academic quality—reviewing every new faculty appointment and every promotion to tenure, studying the whole intellectual firmament to see where his institution could take advantage of new opportunities for advancing knowledge, and largely denying himself his many chances to serve on corporate boards, to enjoy cultural and social events in the nearby metropolis, and to travel around the world.

- In a dilapidated old school building in the center of one of the worst slums in America and on

a very hot and humid summer day, the president of a community college has stars in her eyes—everything she does benefits someone directly: teaching English to an immigrant girl so she can get her first job, helping to move to new quarters the family of a student whose apartment house was burned down by the landlord to get the insurance, or giving a job recommendation on behalf of a recent graduate. She carries out effectively, and greatly enjoys, what she calls her "mission impossible."

- On an almost brand-new campus on a wooded ridge overlooking a river crossed by a wooden bridge, the president of an evangelical college (founded by a small Protestant sect) presides, as did his father before him, over a student body dressed in coats and ties and blouses and skirts. The president considers it his God-given opportunity to create a moral environment for young Americans in the midst of an increasingly evil society.

- In a fast-expanding southwest metropolis, the president of a campus-without-walls that serves the advanced educational needs of the technostructure in the area's new industries, that finds its classrooms all over town and part-time teachers drawn from the technostructure, that advances the newest skills and ideas to match and surpass the competition around the nation and around the world. This president gladly accepts the insistent demands of each moment and of an environment in constant motion—like a merchant in a great Middle East bazaar.

- On the terrace of an old and stately New England house at the edge of a supremely beautiful park-like campus, the president who left a highly successful career as a scholar and faculty leader in a world-class university to take on the responsibilities of guiding her alma mater, which she deeply respects and loves.

- In the lobby of a hotel, the relatively new community college president who is on the constant edge of tears as she talks of coming to a campus with a long tradition of faculty-administration hostility to be greeted in her first receiving line by the informal leader of the faculty who looks her up and down and

says: "So you are the new fox. You should know we got the last one." Later on they "got" this most reluctant one also.

- In his office on a campus in the Deep South, the idealistic president of a historically black college who talks of how the white radicals on the faculty call him an "Uncle Tom" and how he always feels he is being tested at every racially mixed meeting off-campus: Is he there because he deserves to be or as a token black—what are the whites around the table really thinking? He is held to his self-chosen duty to preserve the college by his conviction that self-help through education is the best solution for blacks in a still racist America.

- In a cocktail lounge, the president on his last day in office drinks the alcohol that has come to dominate his life ("the bottle is my best friend") as cynicism and weariness and disgust engulfed his spirit—all those endless meetings, all that rampant self-interest, all the dirty politics that went on under the banner of *veritas*.

- The brilliant, dynamic leader of a fast-improving private university who has total confidence in his own judgment. Known for his sharp mind and equally sharp tongue, he has, in the fire of constant combat, mellowed. He has become less utopian in his aspirations, more patient in allowing time for the acceptance of his ideas, more understanding of irrational behavior of others. However, had he mellowed sooner, his university might not have advanced so fast; but he would have more friends and fewer enemies—this is the price he paid.

- The president of a public institution whose predecessor promised that the institution would become one of the "top ten" and recruited faculty on the basis of that promise when the institution was low among the top 200 in terms of federal research grants. For openers, the faculty demanded a 40 percent salary increase. The faculty senate, composed of all teaching personnel, met every two weeks and on the table at all times ready to be put up for a vote was a motion of "no confidence" in the president. Fortunately, he was a person with great

political experience and filled with endless goodwill and optimism.

• The president of a large state university who was told on his first day in office by the chairperson of the board: "I have a majority of board votes in my pocket, so we do it my way."

• The experienced head of a land-grant university cutting back his budget by about 15 percent because of the desperate financial condition of the state that supports his institution. He did this with surgical skill, taking out what was weak or marginal or what duplicated a program at some nearby institution—"creative retrenchment"—winning praise outside the university and losing support inside. In the end, his university would be both smaller and better.

• Bearded and wearing old clothes, the ex-president of a college of which he had been the great builder. Then hard times came, and he felt he had gone from "being God to being the Devil" as he dismissed people whom he had hired and who were his friends. He had become tired of all those cocktail parties at the country club, of all those campus and community events he felt he had to attend. He was, also, getting older and he saw others who were enjoying the features of the counterculture denied to him; he wanted freedom to taste the up-till-then forbidden fruit. So he left with a record of high accomplishment, but also with sadness: "And when my work's done, they're glad to see me go."

• The impeccably dressed president of a famous institution in the South. He lives in an antebellum style mansion with beautiful grounds and well-staffed with servants. He and his wife are at the center of social life in the city where the university is located, and he is an integral part of the informal establishment that runs the city. He is surrounded by a human environment marked by civility in personal relations and by respect for authority. He leads his institution with a personal touch accorded to each decision. At the same time, he is a cosmopolitan man of the world playing a full part in the national affairs of higher education. He and his institution represent

the best of the Old South taking its rightful place in national affairs.

• The head of a metropolitan Catholic university who looks upon himself as the spiritual leader of his community. It is he who sets the moral tone for the institution, who sees to it that rules and practices follow ethical principles, who insists on a place in the curriculum for study of the Bible and of Christian thought and behavior. In an evil world, he preserves a sanctuary for good.

• The president of a comprehensive public college who is fighting off what he considers to be bureaucratic webs the faculty union is trying to weave around the once more dynamic programs of the institution; fighting for responsive adjustments to community needs as against the inward-looking emphasis on security that the union urges. He fights for a community-responsive institution rather than a guild-dominated one that reacts only to what the master journeymen want.

• On a well-kept brick campus surrounded by cornfields, a sad and confused president. Successful by any outward measure, this founding president fears his handiwork will be torn apart by the warring factions within the faculty and by theological disputes in the church that owns the college.

• Over a breakfast table, the head of the largest campus within a public system—now on leave of absence after his resignation—describes his former relations with the system head as "appalling" because the system CEO "administers by tantrum" and encourages the other, much smaller, campuses to outvote the flagship institution on all systemwide issues. The other campuses are "ripping off" the major campus, which is expected to carry the brunt of research, public service, and publications without adequate funds allocated for those activities.

• The president of a nontraditional college located in a former mortuary in an ethnically diverse neighborhood, who told a hair-raising tale of taking over the college when it was on the verge of bankruptcy. In the early days, when there was no money

for clerical staff, she was sometimes grateful for the stereotype that assumes all college presidents are male. She occasionally found it convenient to go along with a phone caller's assumption that she was the president's secretary in order to avoid talking to creditors; she "just took a message" instead.

- The president of a public college undergoing retrenchment and program cutbacks, whose entire energy goes to ensuring survival for his institution. His answer to stress is "temporary amnesia"—reading war stories or fishing magazines, pruning trees, watching Sunday afternoon TV football games, or doing anything that crowds out the problems for a while.

- The successful president of a bustling and growing public university, known in his state and on campus as aggressive and sometimes intimidating, who was tired and discouraged late one afternoon when he said, "Give me any one of the following and I'd be content: a governor who would go to the barricades for education, an advocate in the state coordinating system, a board that would take some risks, or a faculty that wants to do things."

- The recently installed president, selected from the faculty by acclamation given by the same faculty that had dismissed his predecessor with defamation, who had been ordered by his board to cut the budget by $2 million to save the institution from bankruptcy. His former faculty friends are saying: "He is at our throats already."

- The paternalistic founding president who has survived more than thirty years in the presidency by paying attention to details and to dollars. He has had a good life in the county where he was born and raised and would not do anything differently if he had to do it all over.

- The twenty-year president, still young, of a college that has gone from borrowed space in downtown office buildings to a newly built, and still expanding, campus of its own. There has been no chance for boredom or burnout because each year has brought new challenges, and change is so rapid it is "like being at a different college every two or three years."

Not interchangeable light bulbs

College and university presidents do not all look or act alike. They are not, as James March describes them, "light bulbs," necessary but "interchangeable":[3]

> . . . managers are indistinguishable. It is hard to tell the difference between two different light bulbs. . .
>
> . . . as a result of the process by which managers are selected, motivated and trained, variations in managers do not reliably produce variations in organizational outcomes.
>
> Screening on the way up to the top assures that chief executives will form a relatively homogeneous group.

Seen up close, however, presidents look different and act differently. Seen up close, they are as different as passing pedestrians at the corner of 48th and Madison and the persons in the buildings fronting that corner. This is the first and most important observation about actual presidents—about presidents in life and not in theory. Once inside the wood, "every species of tree has its voice as well as its feature."[4] We met presidents as diverse as evangelical ministers and remote aristocrats, as driving take-charge executives and humble servants, as Nobel Prize-winning scientists and used-car-salesmen types, as effective administrative technocrats and equally skillful politicians.

They do not look alike. They do not talk alike. They do not have the same personalities or characters. They do not cherish the same goals in life or for higher education. They are not interchangeable parts. A light bulb performs one unambiguous task; a president, many ambiguous tasks. A light bulb is turned on by someone else at the flick of a switch; the president turns himself or herself on and must choose to which of many flicks he or she will respond—and how. Light bulbs are produced en masse in accordance with precise specifications; a president is a product of heredity and environment and chance—in bewildering combinations.

A corollary to the light bulb analogy for presidents is that presidencies are light sockets that also are all alike. Again, we did not find this to be true. Presidencies vary enormously by time and by place, as we shall see.

Most presidents are not homogenized managers of homogenized bureaucracies. Thus, this implied advice to trustees is

wrong: Do not be overly concerned about the selection of a president and do not be too harsh about his or her evaluation because presidents are mostly all alike and, anyway, are not really responsible for what happens; any light bulb will do, and do not blame it when it goes out—they all go out in the end.

We found instead, as did Pliny the Elder in ancient Rome, that "among so many thousands of men there are no two in existence who cannot be distinguished from each other"; and so also among the positions they hold. The universal rule is diversity; that is where the greater wisdom lies. Yet there is a dilemma: It is not possible to analyze well without noting *similarities,* yet it is not possible to advise well or to act well without noting *dissimilarities.* The problem is how to see the similarities (the light bulbs) and the dissimilarities (the trees in the wood) at the same time.

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Caveat. The effort here is to portray reality, shaded more toward how to improve it tomorrow than how to find glory in it today. The emphasis on "strengthening leadership in colleges and universities" carries a bias within it. That bias is a concentration on what needs to be strengthened and how to do it, a focus on problems more than on triumphs. Thus less attention is given to the one-quarter of presidents who are very satisfied and need no strengthening, and more attention to the one-quarter who are dissatisfied and to the one-half who are satisfied (with reservations), some of whom will slide into dissatisfaction. Similarly, more attention is directed to improving boards that need improvement than to praising those that do not.

Chapter Notes

1. There are 3,200 institutions of higher education and they will average about one-and-one-half presidents per decade.

2. For a discussion of Moses' leadership, see Aaron Wildavsky, *The Nursing Father: Moses as a Political Leader* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1984). Wildavsky argues that "different kinds of political regimes produce different types of leaders," and he outlines four "regimes" under which different types of leadership are exercised: slavery, anarchy, equity, hierarchy, and, additionally, a combination of the last two.

   James Hilton's kindly Mr. Chipping guided and taught generations of English schoolboys with humor, dignity, and generosity in the novel *Good-bye, Mr. Chips* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1935).

   While James A. Garfield was still a relatively unknown politican, he defended the old-time college against attacks that it was falling behind the times by eulogizing Williams College and the president he had known as a student: "The ideal college is Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other." [Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Random House, 1962), 243.]

   C. P. Snow described the struggle to attain a leadership position in *The Masters* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), a novel centering on the election of a new Master for a Cambridge University college in the late 1930s. The novel makes clear the variety of motivations surrounding the selection of leaders.

   Michael Maccoby examined organizational culture and identified several models of the leader in large organizations, whether corporations, civil service agencies, or universities. He described the "craftsman," "jungle fighter," "company man," and the "gamesman." The gamesman's "main interest is in challenge, competitive activity where he can prove himself a winner." All these types of persons are needed by a large organization, but the future of corporations "depends most of all on the gamesman's capacity for mature development." [*The Gamesman: The New Corporate Leaders* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976), 48–49.]

3. James G. March, "How We Talk and How We Act: Administrative Theory and Administrative Life" (Seventh David D. Henry Lecture, University of Illinois, September 1980).

4. Thomas Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1896), 3.

Why They Serve, Whence They Come, and Whither They Go

2

15

Individuals, for various reasons, seek out or are propelled into college presidencies. Boards of trustees and faculty committees search for or are propelled into accepting individuals as presidents for their own various reasons. The result of these search and propulsion processes is a series of open-ended understandings, seldom with the realistic expectation any more that they will be for life, with both sides usually accepting them more on the basis of hope and speculation than of total conviction and a commitment to a permanent contract. When the trial marriage is over, one way or the other, each side goes on and does something else having learned from the experience, including that each side needs opportunities to reassess the situation and that the separation possibilities had better be thought about even as the vows are being taken.

Why do they serve?

The reasons individuals seek or accept presidencies, or at least the reasons they give, are highly diverse. The reasons given in the following section were taken from people who actually became presidents and not from the many who hopelessly aspire, time and again, for chief executive positions. Openings usually elicit 100 to 300 nominations, but only 5 to 15 of these are deemed to warrant serious consideration. Presidents are chosen and accept from inside these smaller lists. Why are the accepters eager, or at least willing, to serve? Most of what they say individually is constituted by some combination of the following reasons:

- The position offered was a challenge. I like to be challenged.
- It was a chance to grow personally, to learn

new skills, to meet new people, to see new places, to do new things, to experience excitement.

- I can't stand not being Number One. I hate being Number Two. "Number Two is _____."
- I had a sense of mission—to try new ideas; or to serve my religion; or to help my racial or ethnic group; or to work with young people.
- My wife liked the chance to entertain; to live in the big house; to travel; to be "first lady"; to flee housework.
- I had an obligation. I was devoted to the institution. My friends on the faculty all urged me to do it and said I owed it to them. I was pushed hard.
- It was in the line of progression into which I had earlier entered without much advance planning, from department chairman to dean to provost and ultimately to president. I just flowed along.
- I was escaping an increasingly dull life of teaching and committee work; my research was at a dead end.
- It was a chance to enter the more vibrant outside world of clubs, corporate directorships, cultural life, perhaps even politics.
- It was recognition, an honor, a vote of confidence. They wanted my leadership. They liked me.
- There was a real opportunity—plans to be made; reforms to be undertaken; growth to be guided.
- I got more money; a bigger house; a travel and entertainment account.
- If I did well here, I could move to a better place.
- The position played to my strengths.

High-minded reasons and low-minded reasons were given sometimes in odd mixtures—but who really knows? Yet the real reason or reasons for acceptance are important because they affect conduct in the position: to advance the institution, to advance the person, to flow with the tide, to escape routine, to enjoy the prestige. The real reasons, if fathomable, are highly significant, and trustees and members of faculty committees all make their guesses—often wrong.

Why not serve? Men and women who have refused presidencies seem to have a better idea of why they refused than those who accepted have of why they accepted. This may be, in part, because a refusal requires more of an explanation to others and to one's self than does an acceptance. Reasons given fell into three main categories:

> *The position.* I don't like administration. I couldn't endure all the checks and balances on a college campus. The risks involved are too great. The administrator is the enemy and I don't like to be an enemy to all around me.
>
> *The person.* It does not fit my life-style—all those dull and unpleasant people to be nice to. My spouse could not take it. My children are too young. I don't want to conform that much to middle-class hypocrisy.
>
> *The timing.* There are too many factions now, no sense of community, too many split boards. I can't fire people and some will have to be fired. Management of growth was OK but management of decline is horrible.

The most interesting group of "refuseniks" are chief academic officers—provosts, deans of faculty, vice presidents of academic affairs. They know in advance the most about what the job entails, and once upon a time it was assumed all of them were available for presidencies. Now one-half told us they are not interested.[1] Why do they say this?

> • The position of chief academic officer has become the better job. The president is mostly engaged off-campus. The chief academic officer really runs the campus (as one said, "I am the president without having to be president"); has the daily contact with faculty and students; is the leader in academic decision making. The chief academic officer has a powerful constituency—the faculty—but the president has none. It is now the provost who is at "the heart of the enterprise."
>
> • The position of president has deteriorated; it mostly involves raising money and recruiting students: "You raise money or perish; you recruit students or perish." There is year-round open-season

on the president and little protection—many potential enemies and few firm friends, and too much "humiliation." The president must "answer for all mistakes" and often is "eaten alive." The academic value system tends to treat presidents "as second rate." Today, so many presidents have "nothing they want to do and could not do it if they did."

- One much sought-after woman said: "I saw the presidency decaying and I saw presidents decay. It became easier for me to say 'no' to a college presidency than to choose which dress I would wear that day."

- The chief academic officer does not have to change his or her style of life; has the security of easy return to a faculty position; and can keep up at least minimally with teaching and research. Little pressure is placed on the spouse.

- Chief academic officers now have about as much prestige as the presidents, a "platform" they can use, and much the same chance to travel and to be active off-campus. Their net incomes are about the same—a slightly lower salary but fewer costly obligations. And they have a better chance "to maintain their academic integrity."

- The position of provost is the "highest post with academic respect." "You need not renounce your vows of scholarly chastity." "It is a warm and cozy place, not cold and windy."

Another interesting group of "refuseniks" is the professoriate in leading universities. Once they were a great source of presidents. Now very few leave faculty positions for presidencies elsewhere—only two or three a year from the leading research universities.[2] Among other reasons is that the full professorship at an elite university has become so attractive—a low teaching load, ready availability of research funds, opportunities to consult and travel the world, and total security.

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Whence they come.[3] Most presidents—85 percent—come directly out of academic or administrative life on a college campus. About half of the other 15 percent have prior experience in aca-

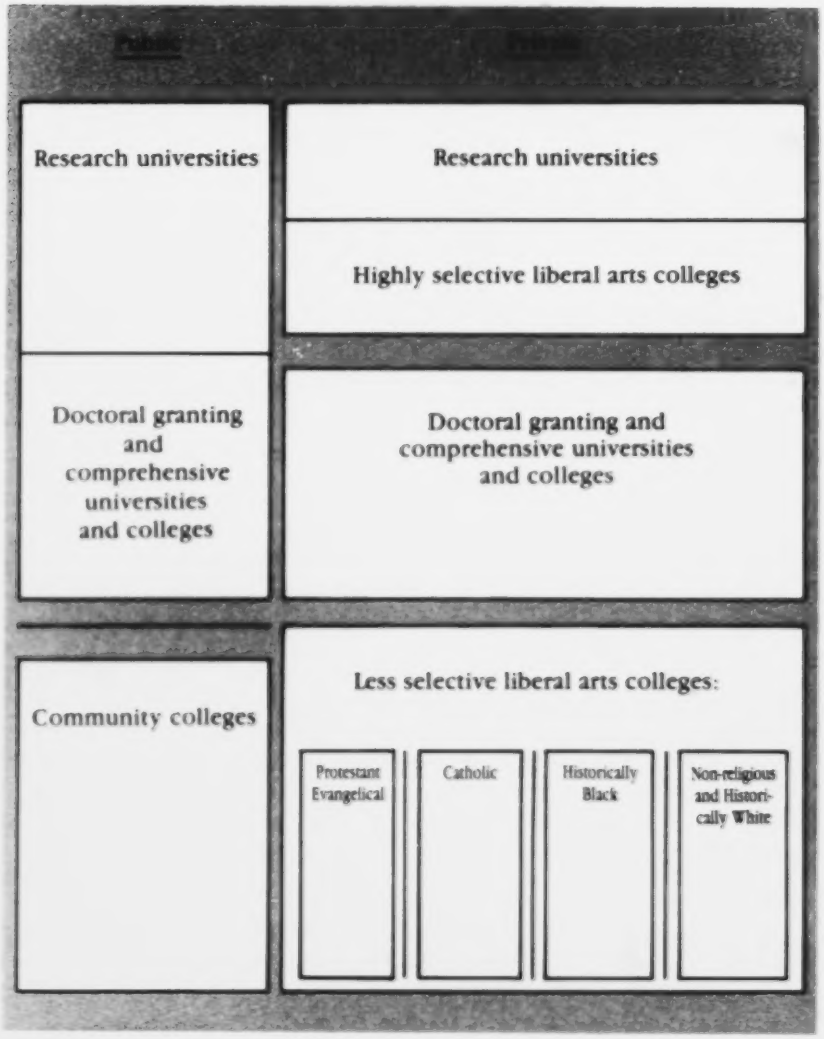
demic life as faculty member or administrator. This route of access is natural because academic institutions have their own ways of doing things and it is important to be acquainted intimately with them. It is also contrived. Faculty committees usually do not fully trust outsiders for fear they will not properly respect faculty advice, protect academic freedom, or accept the slow pace of consensual decision making when, in practice, many would.

Most presidents come directly from outside the institution of which they become chief executive—around 80 percent. This is hard to explain. Why so many from the outside? Internal jealousies are one explanation, concern about prior internal commitments and friendships another, and known imperfections still another—all these on the faculty side. Additionally, on-the-job administrators below the presidential level tend to be, at least at first, in a stronger position with outside appointees and thus often favor them. At the board level, trustees are more likely actually to select and be able to influence an outside appointment as "their" person uniquely dependent on them. Also, outsiders usually are easier to terminate and are more likely to leave town. Professional search firms, additionally, find a comparative advantage when operating in the external market. But it is still a puzzle why the percentage is so high.

Almost 95 percent of presidents have had administrative experience as department chairpersons, deans or provosts, as vice presidents inside academic life or administrators in nonacademic life. This again is natural. They have shown a willingness to be administrators, have gained visibility, and had a chance to improve their skills and establish a record of accomplishment. Trustees particularly are concerned with successful prior administrative experience.

Most presidents come from within the same general type of institution (see Figure 2-1)—at least two-thirds overall, but at least 80 percent for community college presidents. Faculty committees are particularly sensitive as to where candidates received their undergraduate and graduate degrees, and where they have taught or otherwise served. Faculty committees insist that these experiences must have been at institutions of equal or higher academic prestige. They often are contemptuous of those from lesser prestige institutions. They like to "marry up" but never down. The credentials of the person selected are looked upon as a statement of what the institution thinks it is and, to a lesser extent, of what it would like to be in the near future.

Figure 2–1. **The compartments that largely contain movement of persons into and among presidencies***



*Explanation: It is nearly impossible to cross three lines; difficult to cross two lines; possible but unlikely to cross one line.

This is all very natural but also highly unfair to many individuals. Presidents are often chosen more on the basis of their credentials than on personal merit; higher merit is sometimes sacrificed in favor of higher credentials. Relatively few presidents thus are able to move up the prestige scale; and because few are

willing to move down or, at least, very far down, mobility is mostly on a lateral level. And less than 10 percent of presidents cross the public-private barrier. This barrier is partly ideological in origin and partly based on the different skills required, as for example, between political and private fund raising. All this may be understandable but it is neither fair—since credentials triumph over talent—nor wise, since credentials do not perform but talent does. One president said, "I am a prisoner within my Carnegie classification."

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Whither they go. Once chosen, presidents now serve an average of seven years (about 13 percent are involved in separations every year). Normal for the period since 1900, according to a study by Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, was 10 to 12 years service, with a high point from 1930 to 1944 (14 years)[4] due in part to the chance to "coast" during World War II. There was a low point around 1970, particularly for elite institutions plagued with student unrest where short or shortened terms were common.[5]

In recent times, there have been fewer long-term presidents (defined as 10 years or more) than historically, with a drop from 40 percent during the period 50 years ago to 20 percent today.

Fluctuations in average terms can be looked at another way, and that is the surplus over some reasonable minimum. For college presidents, that minimum is about three years. A new president usually is given two years to prove competence; then it takes a board a year to decide on a separation, if one is deemed advisable, and to effectuate it. A term of less than three years is almost always the result of a disastrous choice, or of some disastrous action (sometimes unwittingly) by the president such as the firing of an "untouchable." Bonus years for a president and for a board are those years over three. The average surplus over three years is a better measure of what is happening to longevity: plus seven to nine years historically and plus four years on the average today for all presidents, and plus two years for many community college presidents.

Seven years seems to have become a magic figure not only for academic presidents but also for some comparable positions. This same figure applies approximately to city managers, to school superintendents, to athletic coaches, to hospital administrators, to deans of medical schools, to deans of schools of business administration, and to CEOs of major corporations.[6]

Seven years is the magic number today—the seven-year

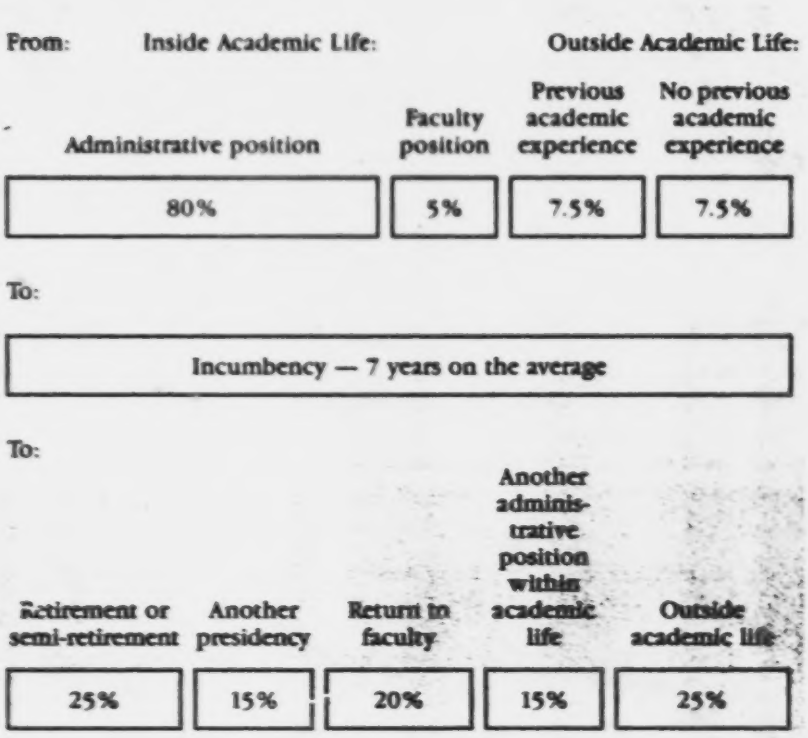
hitch. This magical seven years is hard to explain. The accumulation of grievances by others is one reason and accumulation of fatigue by the incumbent is another. Also, with seven years, the person involved has been given a "fair chance" to perform from the point of view of others, and to make a contribution from the point of view of the individual. Additionally, Cohen and March note that around age 50, individuals in this type of insecure position "reach the *age of last opportunity*, after which the quality of jobs for which they qualify starts to deteriorate rapidly."[7] Many presidents start in their middle forties, entering their early fifties about seven years later. They do not want to find themselves in the position of being too old to find another good job but too young to retire. But it is still a puzzle; that it happens so often does not make it, necessarily, a wise rule. In *Presidents Make A Difference,* the National Commission on Strengthening Presidential Leadership argued for the value of longer terms. A danger exists that seven years might become even more the norm for tomorrow. Most incoming presidents, however, still expect to become an exception to the actuarial tables, and it is a good thing they do.

After this current average of seven years in a particular presidency, the former incumbents scatter in many directions; on to another presidency, about 15 percent; back to the faculty, about 20 percent; into other administrative positions in higher education, 15 percent; into retirement or semiretirement, 25 percent; and outside of academic life (including return to a religious career), 25 percent. (See Figure 2-2.)

As we learned in our interviews, ex-presidents look back on their experiences in starkly different ways: as the high point of their lives, as an experience they are glad to have had but would not choose to undertake more than once, or as a personal disaster. But most are equivocal. On the plus side, they recall a great learning experience, institutional accomplishments of which they are proud, an introduction to later opportunities they otherwise never would have had; but, on the minus side: costs to their family lives, to their physical and psychological reserves, to their academic careers.

While mostly equivocal, the balance between rewards and costs, looking backward, generally lies more on the side of rewards. Except for the very few with multiple presidencies (particularly now in Catholic and community colleges), the presidency is an episode in a career and not a career until retirement. It is, as Harold W. Stoke once noted, "a high-risk occupation."[8]

Figure 2–2. Sources and destinations of college presidents



Sources: *"From" taken from staff analysis of appointments in* Chronicle of Higher Education *and from interviews. "To" based on Robert F. Carbone,* Presidential Passages *(Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1981), Chapter 2.*

Chapter Notes

1. Our finding is confirmed by a study by Richard I. Miller that found only about 45 percent of chief academic officers have a college or university presidency as their "next target." ["Typical Chief Academic Officer: He's 50, Earns $61,000, Has Been on the Job 5 Years, and Wants to Be a President," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 31, no. 13 (27 November 1985): 21.]

2. Personal communication from presidents, chancellors, and deans of ten major research institutions indicated that fewer than 25 faculty members in total have moved directly into an external presidency or chancellorship from those institutions in the past 10 years. Institutions surveyed included Harvard University (Arts and Sciences), Princeton, UCLA, Berkeley, Michigan, Chicago, Wisconsin (Madison), Yale, Stanford, and MIT.

3. Sources for the following include:

   a. Bruce Alton, "Why Presidents Quit," *AGB Reports* 24, no. 1 (January/February 1982): 47–53.

   b. Robert Birnbaum, "Presidential Succession: An Interinstitutional Analysis," *Educational Record* 52, no. 2 (Spring 1971): 133–145.

   c. Robert F. Carbone, *Presidential Passages* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1981).

   d. Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974).

   e. William E. Davis, "Average Tenure of College and University Presidents" (1982). Unpublished, used with permission of the author.

   f. "Fact-File: Turnover of Administrators, 1980–82, by Position and Type of Institution," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 26, no. 16 (15 June 1983): 26.

   g. Michael R. Ferrari, *Profiles of American College Presidents* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1970).

   h. Patrick J. Montana, "Chief Executive Offices Successorship in Colleges and Universities" (New York: International Management Advisors, Inc., April 1981).

   i. Kathryn M. Moore, *Leaders in Transition, A National Study of Higher Education Administrators. The Top-Line: Presidents', Provosts' and Deans' Careers.* Report No. 83-7111 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, Center for the Study of Higher Education, 1983).

   j. Kathryn M. Moore, "The Structure of Administrative Careers: A Prose Poem in Four Parts," *The Review of Higher Education* 8, no. 1 (Fall 1984): 1–13.

   k. Kathryn M. Moore and Susan B. Twombly, *Administrator Mobility: Crossing The Boundary between Two-year and Four-year Colleges and Universities* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, Center for the Study of Higher Education, January 1985).

   l. Kathryn M. Moore, Ann M. Salimbene, Joyce D. Marlier, and Stephen M. Bragg, "The Structure of Presidents' and Deans' Careers," *Journal of Higher Education* 54, no. 5 (September/October 1983): 500–515.

   m. Paul S. Poskozim, "New Administrators—A Statistical Look at Movement within the Ranks, 1982–1983," *Change* 16, no. 7 (October 1984): 55–59.

n. William K. Selden, "How Long Is a College President?," *Liberal Education* 46, no. 1 (March 1960): 5–15.

o. Sibson & Company, Inc., *1984 Compensation and Benefits of College and University Chief Executive Officers* (Washington, D.C.: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges and the College and University Personnel Association, 1984).

p. Verne A. Stadtman, *Academic Adaptations* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1980).

q. Staff analysis of 635 presidential appointments announced in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1980–1983.

r. Staff analysis of ten-year presidents of four-year institutions in 1931 and 1981, from listings in *The World Almanac and Book of Facts* (New York: The *World*, 1931), 411–416; and in *The World Almanac and Encyclopedia, 1921* (New York: The Press Publishing Co., 1931), 151–156 for earlier period and from National Center for Education Statistics, *Education Directory* (various years), for later period.

s. Staff analysis of 880 presidential changes in 2,305 institutions, 1982–1985. We are indebted to Frederick F. Hafner, publisher of Higher Education Publications, Inc., for supplying the data on which this analysis is based.

t. Gordon Van de Water, "Turnover Among College Presidents," Pub. #52 (Denver: Augenblick, Van de Water & Associates, March 1985).

u. George B. Vaughan, *The Community College Presidency*, American Council on Education/Macmillan Series in Higher Education (New York: American Council on Education and Macmillan Publishing Co., 1986). Forthcoming.

4. Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity*, 164. Another study found the median presidential tenure for 32 institutions to be nine years in the period from 1860 to 1933. [Earl James McGrath, "The Evolution of Administrative Offices in Institutions of Higher Education in the United States from 1860 to 1933" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1936), 44.

5. The fifty-one U.S. members of the Association of American Universities, the most prestigious research universities, suffered a 77 percent presidential turnover between 1968 and 1973.

6. Sources:

School superintendents:

Harmon Zeigler, Ellen Kehoe, and Jane Riesman, *City Managers and School Superintendents: Response to Community Conflict* (New York: Praeger, 1985), 53.

Larry Cuban, "Conflict and Leadership in the Superintendency," *Phi Delta Kappan* 67, no. 1 (September 1985): 28–30.

Business:

CEO, Findings of a survey of the chief executive officers of America's largest industrial and service organizations (Chicago: Heidrick and Struggles, 1984), 1.

Medical school deans:

Medical school deans' completed terms averaged 6.9 years between 1960 and 1980 according to Robert G. Petersdorf, M.D., and Marjorie P. Wilson, M.D., "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Study of Academic Medical Center Governance," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 247, no. 8 (26 February 1982): 1156.

Business school deans:

Turnover is about 20 percent a year, with terms averaging 5.7 years in 1979, according to a personal communication from the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business.

Hospital administrators:

David M. Kinzer, "Turnover of Hospital Chief Executive Officers: A Hospital Association Perspective," *Hospital & Health Services Administration* (May/June 1982): 12. Indicates a 10 percent turnover rate annually between 1973 and 1980; calculated from data in Table 1, p. 12.

Football coaches:

Data on Division 1-A head football coaches from the American Football Coaches Association show a 12 to 15 percent annual turnover rate in the past five years.

College and university presidents:

"Fact-File: Turnover of Administrators, 1980–82, by Position and Type of Institution," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 26, no. 16 (15 June 1983): 26. Data indicate a turnover rate of 15 percent a year during that period.

Van de Water, "Turnover Among College Presidents," 4, shows a 13 percent turnover between fall 1983 and fall 1984. Analysis of data supplied by Higher Education Publications, Inc., shows a 13 percent annual turnover rate from 1982 to 1985 (see Table 14-2 for analysis by type of institution).

7. Cohen and March, *Leadership and Ambiguity*, 187.

8. Harold W. Stoke, *The American College President* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 19.

Orientation— What the New President Learns

3

27

In some broad areas, most presidents find what they expect to find. Faculty members, students, alumni, middle-level staff, and the local community behave much like members of each of these groups do in institutions from which presidents are likely to have come. They also usually have a good idea of the potentialities and problems of the institution, although several reported they had not been properly informed about financial difficulties, and one said: "They discussed absolutely nothing with me. They just left me to sink or swim."

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Surprises. There are three common surprises:

- The intensity of the board's internal politics—who has power and how they use it for good or ill.
- The existence of "untouchables" at high levels of the administration who have earned or otherwise acquired a status that makes it difficult or impossible to move them to different positions. Some of these untouchables are Iagos.
- The importance of the immediate predecessor: whether still located in the area and maintaining an active interest in the institution; or whether present only in the residues of expectations or resentments lingering in the minds of trustees and faculty, which affect what the incumbent must or must not do—just as renters of a new house are sensitive to what they liked or disliked in the old, or just as new spouses in second marriages are alert to what happened last time around. Most institutions have a ghost or two around.

Early preoccupations of many presidents are how to adapt to or change what they find in these three areas.

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Common experiences. Whether expected or not, new presidents frequently come to experience the following:

- A sense of loneliness. One called it: "A lonely life in a fishbowl." The president may choose to set himself or herself at a distance from others; some find it a necessity to do so. He or she can confide entirely frankly with few if any persons on campus for fear of gossip or loss of confidential information. Also, "a friend in power is a friend lost," particularly for those who stay on the same campus.[1] Close friends become just friends, friends become acquaintances, acquaintances become critics, critics become enemies, and enemies get new ammunition. The president is a "lonely man," as Harold Stoke has noted.[2]

- A sense of being driven. The agenda is never cleared of phone calls not returned, letters not answered, persons not seen. The average president works a 60 to 80-hour week. Much of this work time is spent in the evenings and on weekends.

- Presidents complain of a lack of time to read and to think. They now spend from one-third to two-thirds of their time off-campus, and much of it away from home. They mostly fail A. Lawrence Lowell's test: "Never feel hurried."[3]

- A sense of being under constant observation—every speech, every letter, every policy decided. The campus community is composed of very bright, very observant, very vocal people as compared with most human institutions. The loss of anonymity can also place a heavy burden on spouse and children.

- Concern with how all those evaluations are going and about possible exit is nearly universal. Few presidents know where they might go next. A road sign in the United Kingdom that governs a location where cars wait to cross heavy in-coming traffic on their way into a small entrance on the other side reads: "Do not enter box unless exit route is clear." The exit route from the presidency is seldom clear.

Tests of performance. Evaluation is not only constant; it is also confusing. Evaluators have so many different standards for evaluation.

Trustees are the ultimate evaluators. They alone can vote a termination. By their own accounts and those of presidents, trustees mostly look for:

> *Integrity*—they want to know the truth about the institution, good and bad.
>
> *Competence*—the ability to appoint capable staff members, to prepare an agenda and a budget, and to carry out decisions.
>
> *Results*—a balanced budget each spring and good recruitment results each fall are the most important.
>
> *Good external relations*—with the alumni in a residential college, the local community in a community college, the governor and legislators in a state-supported institution.
>
> *Effective consultation with the board*—early discussion of important issues, adequate information in general, and never any surprises.
>
> *Adaptability*—the ability to handle the unexpected, the unprogrammed, the undesired.
>
> *Tranquility on campus*—nothing that hits the media except for winning sports teams. Although, as one said, "I can't hold back the new world."

Most boards look broadly at all these and other tests of performance, but some look much more narrowly. One board chairperson said he set two bottom lines in advance each year: the budget and student enrollments. He added that his policy towards presidents was: "Pay them well. Keep them insecure. Push them hard." Other boards look at how well the interests are being met for those clienteles individual board members believe they represent: the agricultural industry, right-wing citizens, older alumni, and the affiliated church, among others.

Many boards take a long-term look at performance; others react to a single episode. One ex-president said: "In this game, you can strike out only once. I struck out that once but my previous appearance at the plate had been a home run. It did not seem to count."

Faculty members have a different list:

- Acceptance of faculty procedures and advice.
- Support of faculty values, including academic freedom and the personal right to do as they please.
- Provision of good salaries, and a record of no faculty dismissals at the tenure level.
- Not being pushed into academic reforms they do not want—which are most; not seeing the president's hand too openly in academic affairs.
- Faculty often tend to want a faculty-type person as president, and then, once selected, prefer that he or she stay out of faculty-type problems; a person who, on the job, will be strong externally (raise money) but weak internally (not hassle the faculty).

The alumni test:

Presidential availability to alumni groups, and full and interesting presentations on campus developments.

The students' test:

Most students want friendly interest and concern; political activists want support for their causes, or, at least, a supportive environment.

The public test:

No incidents that run against middle-class morality, and that attract media attention.

Other presidents' test:

Longevity.

History's test:

The long-run advance or retreat of the institution in fulfilling its academic and service goals.

These standard tests of performance are, obviously, quite varied, and they do give a strong overall sense of potential difficulties. Some tests are consistent with each other; for example, all con-

stituencies want a good record on obtaining financial and other resources and a competent administration. Other tests are isolated from each other, for example, the quality of contacts with students stands all by itself. But there also are inconsistencies among tests, and presidents find it particularly difficult when these conflicts become intense:

- When the faculty wants academic freedom and the public wants "100 percent Americanism."
- When the trustees want to balance the budget and the faculty wants a salary increase.
- When the students want to engage in off-campus politics and the public wants the campus used only for academic purposes.

Presidents tend to test themselves by (1) whether relations with all their essential reference groups are going along smoothly, and (2) whether they are making satisfactory progress in whatever goals they have set for themselves for institutional improvement.

The most important aspect of orientation is how the individual president sizes up what he or she faces and develops strategies to meet the various performance tests as best he or she may. Sometimes, there is no successful strategy available. Sometimes, one exists but is not found. Mostly, one is found and followed for some reasonable period of years.

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What others have learned. In *Presidents Make A Difference,* the Commission on Strengthening Presidential Leadership set forth some "sage advice,"[4] and Appendix A of this volume presents more extended observations about the college presidency and academic governance. In addition, here are some additional lessons learned by others in the past.

From the literature:

"Although a president does not control an institution, he shares in the capacity to mold and shape it." "While there are limitations on authority, there are no limitations on initiative." (Joseph F. Kauffman)[5]

"Any job that has defeated two or three men in succession, even though each has performed well in his previous assignments, must be assumed unfit for human

beings. It must be redesigned." (Peter F. Drucker)[6]

"The president will either have to give up his presidency or learn to live with his ulcers." (Robert W. Merry)[7]

"Not that I've been treated unfairly, but you go from being a private person to suddenly reading descriptions of your face, your clothes, the way your hands look." (A. Bartlett Giamatti)[8]

"He is never off duty. He can dissent in private. What he says [in public] is required by the rules and ethics of organization to be both predictable and dull." (John Kenneth Galbraith)[9]

"If a man's first aim in life were to be comfortable and to be liked, he would choose an easier occupation than college president." (Herbert A. Simon)[10]

"The president, if he has the power of veto, may stand in the way of progress, but he cannot secure forward movement except with the cooperation of those with whom he is associated." (William Rainey Harper)[11]

You "are in place to solve problems, not to defend territories or to punish the wicked." "Administrators should recognize that a part of their role is to absorb the hostility and misunderstandings of others." (Donald E. Walker)[12]

"If you commit sins, commit sins of omission." (Carlos Baker)[13]

"Don't let it bother you. You didn't expect to be loved, did you?" (Alexander G. Ruthven)[14] But, "All leaders like to be loved." (Aaron Wildavsky)[15]

"I resigned my college presidency when I discovered that no one in my institution had any such conception of the presidency. Everyone expected me to be involved in the details of the institution, to see them whenever they wanted to be seen, to attend innumerable committee meetings, to introduce every visiting speaker, to greet every returning alumnus, and, to boot, to entertain all faculty members and their spouses at lunch or dinner at least once a year." (William H. Cowley)[16]

"If any man wishes to be humbled and mortified, let him become president of Harvard College." (Edward Holyoke)[17]

"A man who is able to avoid situations in which he is likely to fail is likely to be a success." (Fred E. Fiedler)[18]

"The art of using authority is to secure consent." (Eric Ashby)[19]

A study in the late 1970s asked presidents to "Identify

and describe administrative principles that tend to be reflected in how you get things done." Each of the following was suggested by at least 85 percent of the presidents:

"1. Be accessible.
2. Be credible.
3. Involve more people, earlier." (David G. Brown)[20]

The powers of the president "are very easily defined. He has a right to be informed of what is going on; he has a right to be consulted; he has a right to advise; and he has a right to persuade, if he can." (A. Lawrence Lowell)[21]

"My tendency to expect the worst when dealing with other people may well be traced to a prolonged self-inflicted dose of British seventeenth-century history." (James B. Conant)[22]

Among the most successful and admired of all university presidents concluded: "Yet sometimes the burdens seemed unbearable when too many problems came all at once." "Harassed and exhausted, on a thousand occasions I longed to be released from the torment of the job. But with full knowledge of the trauma, travail, blood, sweat, and tears the office demands, if I were young and given the opportunity, I would eagerly undertake the glorious chore again. For me no other career could have been so satisfying. I have been lucky and happy in my life work." (Herman B Wells)[23]

From the interviews:

"Every person on campus feels free to take crack pots [sic] at me." "I am a dart board."

"Always remember that only cemeteries are full of irreplaceable people."

"Once in a while you will feel as though you were shoveling coal in hell."

"Virtually everyone wants to be outside the sphere of responsibility but well inside the sphere of influence."

"Keep track of your growing burdens: (1) the accumulation of discontent and (2) the accumulation of commitments until you are unable to lead and to move."

"I went from seduction to the guillotine in five fast years."

"In any fights, the faculty can win by inaction and the board can win by action."

"Money is everything. On campus, they want it from you. Off campus, you want it from them."

"The easiest thing of all would be to do nothing as a president; it takes guts to force change."

"There are no more philosopher kings. The bottom lines are: balance the budget, keep some reserves in the kitty; and fend off the unions."

"I'm never supposed to be anything but strong and confident and self-assured and optimistic—and sometimes I am!"

"Is the university manageable? No, of course not. But I expect that even on a bad day, 95 percent of things run the way you want them to. The media pick up on the other 3 to 5 percent."

One of the living legends of American higher education, now in his eighties but still actively working at the large university he headed for so long, shared some of his rules for success:

"Hire the brightest people you can find; help them grow; start from their proposals and keep on asking questions until the answers make sense to everyone. And never surprise anyone in the newspapers!"

Chapter Notes

1. Carlos Baker, *A Friend in Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958). The title is taken from Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (1906), where in Chapter 7 he explains that he early learned "the rule that *a friend in power is a friend lost.*"

2. Harold W. Stoke, *The American College President* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 24.

3. A. Lawrence Lowell, *What a University President Has Learned* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 19.

4. National Commission on Strengthening Presidential Leadership, Clark Kerr, dir., *Presidents Make a Difference: Strengthening Leadership in Colleges and Universities* (Washington, D.C.: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 1984), 87–96.

5. Joseph F. Kauffman, "The New College President: Expectations and Realities," *Educational Record* 58, no. 2 (Spring 1977): 165.

6. Peter F. Drucker, *The Effective Executive* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 79.

7. Robert W. Merry, "Pressures on the Presidency" (Boston: The Institute for College and University Administrators, 30 June 1965): 11.

8. William E. Geist, "The Outspoken President of Yale [A. Bartlett Giamatti]," *The New York Times Magazine* (6 March 1983): 45.

9. John Kenneth Galbraith, "About Men: Corporate Man," *The New York Times Magazine* (22 Janauary 1984): 39.

10. Herbert A. Simon, "The Job of a College President," *Educational Record* 48, no. 1 (Winter 1967): 78.

11. William Rainey Harper, memo written in 1904, found in his files after his death. In Earl J. McGrath, "The President as Innovator," *Selected Issues in College Administration*, ed. Earl J. McGrath (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), 8.

12. Donald E. Walker, *The Effective Administrator: A Practical Approach to Problem Solving, Decision Making, and Campus Leadership* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1979), 48, 62.

13. Baker, *A Friend in Power*, 191.

14. Quoted in Stoke, *The American College President*, 160.

15. Aaron Wildavsky, *The Nursing Father: Moses as a Political Leader* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1984), 130.

16. William H. Cowley, *Presidents, Professors, and Trustees*, ed. Donald T. Williams, Jr. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1980), 66.

17. Attributed to President Edward Holyoke, on his deathbed. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 99.

18. Fred E. Fiedler, *A Theory of Leadership Effectiveness* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967), 260.

19. Eric Ashby, "The Scientist as University President" (The Arthur Compton Memorial Lecture, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., 13 May 1964).

20. David G. Brown, *Leadership Vitality: A Workbook for Academic Administrators* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1979), 17.

21. Quoted from a speech by A. Lawrence Lowell, at the 59th annual dinner of the Harvard Club of New York in Henry Aaron Yeomans, *Abbot Lawrence Lowell* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), 300.

22. James B. Conant, *My Several Lives* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 86.

23. Herman B Wells, *Being Lucky: Reminiscences and Reflections* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 429–430.

The Presidency: Unique, Satisfying, Vulnerable

4

37

The presidency of the American college and university is unique. In continental Europe and Latin America, the similar position (usually rector) is confined within a very narrow corridor between the power of the faculty guild (or the "chairs" of the full professor or deans of the several schools selected by their faculties) and the government ministry in charge.[1]

A phrase in Germany is that the "Rector Magnificence" is really the "Rector Impotenz." The position is one of great honor but minor impact. Efforts to strengthen the position there and elsewhere in Western Europe have been ineffective. In the Soviet bloc, the state is supreme, although some leeway is given in nonpolitical areas to the many organizations within the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and somewhat less to the universities. Comparable positions abroad also are more uniform in scope both because the range of performance is narrow and the institutions are less diverse in each nation, partly because they are mostly or entirely public in their sources of support.

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The U.K. model. The nearest equivalent is the position of vice-chancellor in the United Kingdom (and Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, with Canada intermediate between the United Kingdom and the United States).

While the American system of higher education evolved out of that in the United Kingdom, it is quite different in its forms of administration. Vice-chancellors of universities in the United Kingdom have a limited range of functions compared with presidents in the United States. The honorary chancellor presides over ceremonial occasions. The University Grants Committee deals with the national government; there are no state governments. The registrar or secretary runs

the bureaucracy on a daily basis in a quiet but effective way. The local board, if any, usually is very weak and mostly dominated by faculty members. There are no organized alumni and no supporters of spectator sports, and there is little effort at private fund raising.

Universities do not have service responsibilities, only teaching and research, which greatly limits the necessity for off-campus contacts. Tradition is a very strong source of decision making and what new decisions are made generally "percolate slowly upwards," in the words of Eric Ashby.[2] Vice-chancellors never veto faculty recommendations and seldom modify them, and then mostly by selective inaction. The vice-chancellors either rotate quickly on a set schedule (as at Oxford and Cambridge) or serve as long as they wish. Essentially, they serve as gentle deans of the faculty, as considerate presiding officers, as genial hosts for overseas guests, and as erudite ambassadors-at-large to the British public. And, although the financial pressures of the 1980s have forced vice-chancellors into a somewhat more active role, they generally are without authority equal to their new responsibilities.

One possible tactic for the United States, drawing on the British experience, is to develop a position more like that of registrar or secretary; but, in the United Kingdom, the high civil service attracts very top quality people who are willing to serve quite anonymously but effectively for long periods of time, and they draw high respect for their work.

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The corporation. Research universities, with their medical schools, are often the biggest single employer in their states, aside from the state government itself. College and university trustees, particularly those with business experience, often look on academic institutions as though they were or at least should be like corporations. The corporate form of governance is viewed as the appropriate model and as the unit for comparison. But there are vast differences:[3]

- The corporation has no tenured faculty members, and no guarantees of academic freedom to do and to say what anyone may want to do and say.
- The corporation has single-service customers but no students on the premises daily buying a great variety of goods and services, with great control over their own time and activities, and some with off-

campus social and political concerns. The corporation also has no alumni.

- The corporation uniformly follows the vertical, not the horizontal, form of organization; and reporting channels are enforced.
- The corporate board is usually made up partly of operating officers (one-third, on the average).[4] The chairman of the board is usually also the chief operating officer, and the "independent" board members are effectively chosen by the CEO. The administration controls the board except in emergency situations.
- The corporate CEO usually has much more control over the expenditure of his or her time, much less in the way of social and cultural obligations, a larger and better paid personal staff,[5] and more protection from the press and public pressure groups.
- The corporate head has many internal sources of support with many people trying to help him or her succeed; not the loneliness of the college president with few friends and many critics built into the situation.
- The corporation has one bottom line and it is precise—current profits; while the college or university has many bottom lines, not all of them are precise, and some of them (like improvements in academic quality) can be calculated only after 10 or 20 years and then imprecisely. In the corporation, all considerations can be translated into money; this is much less true in the university.
- The corporation can make and remake decisions constantly. On the contrary, many groups on campus must be consulted and can delay decision making, sometimes indefinitely.
- Corporations no longer have company towns where the manager is also the landlord, the cook, the policeman, the judge, the merchant. Corporations found that playing all those roles greatly complicated the conduct of the central role of management. On most campuses, presidents play one or more or all of these complicating extra roles.

A high executive in a leading financial house said that his wife, when a faculty member, helped him when he was a rising

corporate officer because his life then was more stressful than hers. Now that he has risen to the executive level and his wife has become a college president, he helps her.

A former college president who became a corporate executive said that, at first, he was scared to make a request of his corporate staff because, unlike the college, he found that it would be fulfilled and right away; he had to be more careful about his requests.

All this makes it sound as though the academic manager has by far the worst of it against the corporate manager. On balance, this almost certainly is true but there are some advantages. Generally, there is much more institutional loyalty in higher education than in the corporate world. Also, there are fewer adjustments by far to be made to technological change and to sudden market shifts in demand.

The differences are great, yet at least one thing can be learned from the corporate model: the development of leadership from within—80 percent of corporate leaders are promoted from within while 80 percent of college leaders are recruited from outside. Most corporate leaders have been seen performing within the same environment and have been given a great learning experience in advance (the average CEO has been with the same company for 23 years)[6]—but not the college leaders; and the absence of these chances to observe by the board and to learn by the individual are severe handicaps both to those who make the selections and to those who are selected. Also, in the corporate world, exits are better handled with transfer to another position in the corporation (chairman of some board committee, for example) or via the Golden Parachute.

In at least three main ways, advancement in the academic world is different from the corporate: (1) there usually is only one route up—the academic, and not several (production, finance, marketing, etc.); (2) the academic route to the presidency may not be followed too obviously within the same institution by potentially interested persons, for to do so is the kiss of death—proper academics should never openly aspire to be administrators; and (3) the academic route does not train or test the breadth of skills needed to be a president.

Nevertheless, MIT has followed a policy of promotion from within for much of its history and so have many Catholic colleges (70 percent of appointments are promotions from within),[7] particularly within the group of twenty-eight Jesuit colleges; and, in

both cases, with great success. The MIT-Jesuit model deserves careful study elsewhere. At MIT, the president, in retirement, normally becomes chairman of the board; and Catholic priests and sisters always are given other opportunities to serve within the college or the order.

James Killian described the origin of the MIT system as follows:

> Mr. Gerard Swope [former chairman of the board of General Electric Co.]. . .concluded that the Institute should plan for a successor to President Samuel Stratton, then approaching his seventieth year. He noted that the Institute had encountered difficulties three times in securing new presidents, first in obtaining a successor for Francis Amasa Walker, then for Harry Pritchett, and then for Richard Maclaurin. 'In corporate enterprises, in industry and business, it is good organization and good administration, while the organization is going along well under the leadership of its administrator, that thought be given to training the man who will take over the responsibility at some time in the future.' While serving on the Executive Committee of the Corporation, to which he was elected in 1926, Mr. Swope pursued his various objectives and in 1928 proposed that the Institute arrange for the presidential succession to follow the regime of Samuel Stratton. He found other members of the Executive Committee in full accord, and they began to plan for a successor to President Stratton.[8]

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The city. Being a college president bears some similarities to being a mayor. Both positions have high public visibility and many social and cultural responsibilities. Both jobs are perceived to have deteriorated in recent years, becoming more difficult, providing fewer rewards, and subject to many more direct pressures than in the past. One former mayor lamented, "The job of mayor is too demanding, too frustrating, too unrewarding."[9]

Yet, there are great differences between the positions:

- The mayor is elected by the voting members of all constituencies—the people. The president is appointed by one of several constituencies—the board, and sanction by the board is not as sacred as by the people. A 51 percent affirmative vote for a mayor in a city can be a more decisive declaration of legit-

imacy than a 100 percent vote by board members alone for a president.

- The mayor has a fixed term. The president serves at the pleasure of the board, even though a written contract may provide some financial security after an ouster.
- The mayor has one bottom line —the vote of the people; the president has many bottom lines.
- The mayor presides over the city council; the president sometimes is not even a member of the board.
- The mayor usually has a single chief of staff (the city manager or chief executive officer) to run internal affairs on a daily basis subject to control by the mayor; while the president is expected by the faculty, students and staff members in many institutions to be involved directly with their daily on-campus affairs.
- The mayor can be repudiated only by a vote of 51 percent of the voting electorate at a stated election; but a president finds it difficult to survive with any substantial segment of the faculty (say 20 percent) committed against him or her; even 10 percent of the students intent upon a change can cause havoc for a president.

The city, however, does offer one possible solution: An accepted chief of staff to handle the daily routine.

Other positions paralleling that of college president, as we have noted, are city manager, dean of a medical school, administrator of a hospital, coach of a prominent sports team, principal of a school, and school superintendent. All must respond to many intense and varied internal and external pressures. A recent report quotes one superintendent as saying he makes enemies at a rate of 10 percent of the people he deals with in a year, adding up to 50 percent after five years.[10] Superintendents complain of internal conflict, increased external pressures, diminished authority, more special interest groups to contend with, politicization of boards, more perilous financial conditions—complaints also heard from college presidents. One superintendent is quoted as saying that the position is "one of the most difficult a person can choose."

Satisfaction and dissatisfaction. All the positions just listed are high in challenge and stress. We found that about one-quarter of college presidents are very satisfied with their position, about one-half are satisfied, and about one-quarter are dissatisfied. No similar survey has been made of the other positions we have listed that can be used for comparative purposes. But surveys have been made of many other positions in the United States. The situation is roughly as follows:[11]

Jobs in the outside world	Percent expressing satisfaction	Counterpart positions in the academic world in terms of job satisfaction
"Good jobs" (professional positions, skilled workers)	90–95%	Faculty
"Average jobs"	70–75%	Students Presidents
"Poor jobs" (routine, unpleasant)	60–65%	Some staff members

The distribution of satisfaction among presidents is not far off from that of the "average job." It must also be close to that of trustees expressing satisfaction with the president, for the reason that they both tend to understand the relationship in much the same way. The appraisal of satisfaction by presidents looking at themselves tends, however, to be somewhat higher than that of faculties looking at presidents. A recent survey by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching found two-thirds of faculty members rating the administration at their institutions as "fair or poor."[12] We generally found more faculty criticism than presidents realized; and some presidents seemed to be oblivious to it—some live, as one observer said, "in a fool's paradise." This reflects, in part, the natural tendency of faculty members to be critics—more than any other group (see the discussion in the comment that follows), and the tendency of presidents to take an optimistic view of the situation and, sometimes also, their sheer lack of contact with reality. Presidents tend to be "I'm OK" types.

The one-quarter of presidents who are dissatisfied (most of this dissatisfaction reflects that of one or more other groups in the campus community, particularly trustees) are usually on their way out, propelled by their own feelings and by those of others. But escaping presidents often move slowly—they hate to admit defeat, or they hope for a turn for the better, or they delay in making the hard decision, or they have no place else to go. Some stay on in agony. These presidents are offset, numerically, by those who continue happily in office—some in a state approaching ecstasy.

And then there are all those other people on the outside who think they would like to be presidents. The presidency is like a berry patch surrounded by netting—some of the birds on the inside are trying desperately to get out and many birds on the outside are trying desperately to get in.

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The faculty discount rate in evaluation of presidents. Faculty members almost universally discount the performance of their current presidents at a rate that must be 25 to 75 percent below that of other observers. Trustees and others in the academic community should recognize this and should establish their own discount rate in their evaluation of the faculty discount rate; or, alternatively, their own markup rate on the faculty evaluations reported to them. A passing grade of "C" given by a faculty may be equivalent to a "B" or an "A" if given by more neutral observers.

An illustrative case is that of a president who had been a longtime member of the same faculty, who is one of the few recognized intellectual leaders (among current university presidents) in his academic specialty, who has maintained an impressive record of publication as a president, and who is widely considered externally as one of the most effective of the 3,200 college and university presidents in the United States. The careful report by the faculty review committee appointed to evaluate this president commented, in part, as follows:

- "Impressive leader of the university during a difficult period."
- "Extremely active president."
- "Remarkably well-informed."
- "Courage to make decisions."
- "Personal and institutional symbol of excellence."
- "High intellectual standards."

It listed his accomplishments as including:

- An "improved financial situation."
- An "increase in the student body."
- The building of an "effective administration team."
- Being a "strong positive force in the recruitment of deans and department heads."
- The creation of "effective lines of communication."
- Good working relations "with trustees."
- An enhancement of the "external image of the school during his tenure."
- An improvement in "the school's public relations."
- Showing a "strong concern for undergraduate students."
- Stimulating and supporting "experimentation."

The committee sent a detailed questionnaire to individual faculty members. The returns showed that, in the opinion of the faculty as a whole, however, the president:

- Had "not sufficiently understood or supported faculty interests" and had not given "adequate consideration" to the "faculty's interests."
- Had not given "strong intellectual leadership for the university" although the committee said he had "pushed for innovation and had been disappointed in faculty's response."
- Had a "neutral impact on education" but was, simultaneously, "praised as being much better than his predecessors in the area of educational policy"—"neutral" is "better."
- Was "rated negatively for his impact" on "overall faculty morale."

The evaluation by individual faculty members ranged from neutral to negative.

The committee noted:

- That "his efforts have not been completely understood or accepted by the faculty"; and that one-quarter of the faculty saw "no effect of the president's policies in action."
- That, while the president had not brought about "any substantial pedagogic or intellectual innovations" in the opinion of faculty, the committee concluded the president had made "it possible to give more specific recognition for teaching" and had added "computer facilities."

If faculty members were as tough on grading students as on their presidents, grade inflation would not be a problem and the

graduation rate would be decimated. Why so soft on students but so hard on presidents?

- Faculty members see only a small part of a president's total performance.
- What they see mostly relates to themselves and to their immediate departments.
- Their expectations of support for themselves and for their departments often exceed what is possible within the overall constraints within which the institution operates, and within the necessity for elementary fairness in the comparative treatment of individuals and departments.
- And, additionally, faculty attitudes often are viscerally anti-administration or at least not pro-administration. Higher education is one of the few segments of American society where class conflict seems to be endemic. A. H. Halsey refers to "the conventional antipathy of academics to administrators"[13] in the United Kingdom. In the United States, Herbert A. Simon describes the situation as follows: "To college faculty members and students, 'administration' is, though not a four-letter word, a dirty one. To his former colleagues, a professor who becomes dean or president is an emigre or a turncoat, a man who has renounced academic culture and scholarly values in favor of power and materialism."[14] It is not good form for faculty members to publicly criticize each other, but this same restraint does not apply to criticism of presidents. One president, in response, said his faculty members were "piranhas," but added that "the alligators are on the board."

Thus it is possible, while going all out as an extremely active president, to be an "impressive leader" but to have a negative impact on "faculty morale."

Former Senator James William Fulbright (D-Ark.), a past president of the University of Arkansas, once said: "There is an inevitable divergence, attributable to the imperfections of the human mind, between the world as it is and the world as man perceives it."[15]

Faculty perceptions of his administration at the University of Chicago once led Robert Maynard Hutchins to say that an "administrator has all of these ways to lose and he has no way to win," and to bemoan that "almost every decision an administrator makes is a decision against somebody."[16] His decisions, however, among other accomplishments, led to one of the very best undergraduate programs in the United States at any time in history. Hutchins, who

bemoaned the "no way to win" problem, was himself a giant in his accomplishments.

Chapter Notes

1. Heads of private universities in Japan and the Philippines are an exception; they often are aggressive private entrepreneurs. For a comparative discussion of governance, see Burton R. Clark, *The Higher Education System: Academic Organization in Cross-National Perspective* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983).

2. Eric Ashby, "The Scientist as University President" (The Arthur Compton Memorial Lecture, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., 13 May 1964).

3. For an excellent comparison of the corporation and the campus see Ralph B. Besse, "A Comparison of the University with the Corporation," in *The University as Organization*, ed. James A. Perkins (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1973).

4. *The Changing Board* (Chicago: Heidrick and Struggles, 1984), 3.

5. A current university president, who was an outstanding member of the U.S. House of Representatives, notes how, as a congressman, he had a much larger and much better paid personal staff than as president of a large university.

6. *CEO. Findings of a survey of the chief executive officers of America's largest industrial and service organizations* (Chicago: Heidrick and Struggles, 1984), 2.

7. Michael R. Ferrari, *Profiles of American College Presidents* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1970), 99.

8. James R. Killian, Jr., *The Education of a College President: A Memoir* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985), 164.

9. See John P. Kotter and Paul R. Lawrence, "The Future: Some Disturbing Trends," chap. 15 in *Mayors in Action: Five Approaches to Urban Governance* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974). Quote is from former Mayor Arthur Naftalin of Minneapolis, in Monroe W. Karmin, "Fleeing the Hot Seat," *The Wall Street Journal*, 21 April 1969.

10. Tom Mirga, "The High Pressure World of Superintendents," *Education Week* 4, no. 20 (6 February 1985): 7.

11. For faculty and student responses, see Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, *Carnegie Council National Surveys 1975–76: Faculty Marginals* 2 (September 1978); and Martin Trow, *Aspects of American Higher Education, 1969#1975* (Berkeley: Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1977), 13.

More recent data from a smaller sample of faculty indicate that job satisfaction may have declined. About 20 percent of faculty now say they wish they had entered another profession, and about one-quarter believe prospects for advancement within the profession are limited. ["Fact-File: Who Faculty Members Are, and What They Think: A profile of the professoriate, based on results of a 1984 Carnegie Foundation Survey," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 31, no. 16 (18 December 1985): 26.]

12. Robert L. Jacobson, "Nearly 40 Pct. of Faculty Members Said to Consider Leaving Academe," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 31, no. 8 (23 October 1985): 22. (Report on Ernest L. Boyer, *College: The Undergraduate Experience in America*, forthcoming from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.)

13. A. H. Halsey, "Oxford University: An Elitist Democracy of Dons," *Change* 15, no. 8 (November-December 1983): 29.

14. Herbert A. Simon, "The Job of a College President," *Educational Record* 48, no. 1 (Winter 1967): 68.

15. J. William Fulbright, *Old Myths and New Realities* (New York: Random House, 1964), 3.

16. "The Administrator: Leader or Officeholder?" in *Freedom, Education, and The Fund: Essays and Addresses, 1946–1956* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), 172.

Strategies, Choices, and Coercions

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Defining Roles, Adjusting Skills, and Protecting Self

5

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Managers of modern American organizations have some things in common. It has been written of the "general manager" within General Motors Corporation that "he" (or she) is inside "a complex system which he cannot directly control and cannot fully understand."[1] This also could be said of many college presidents. However, the "general manager" in a college usually has more of an opportunity to decide what he or she will or will not do compared with counterparts in industry and government. The college president has a job description that is, in some parts, standard, but the variations in what he or she does within and around this description are substantial. These variations are essential to an understanding of the presidency.

The first theme of this section is that the college executive group (the "administration"), defined as the total group of executives and policymakers (including the president and the board), has functions which are not all that different from those in business and industry. However, within this set of functions, individual presidents have unusual opportunities, within broad limits, to define their own individual job descriptions. No standard job description controls what an individual president actually decides to do; there is an unusual latitude for choice and great responsibility for the choices made.

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Programmatic responsibilities of the administration. The generalized job description of a college administration starts with the setting and resetting of goals. These goals, as customary in all organizations, include survival and progress of the institution. What is different is that education is not a single-product or a single-

service industry, so goals must be set for each product and service, and some goals are in conflict.

Depending on the institution, there should be goals for research, and this involves some understanding of the many developments taking place in the intellectual world; for undergraduate and graduate teaching, and they often are in opposition because of the demands made on faculty time and differing instructional approaches; for contributions to the cultural and economic interests of the many attached communities; and for reasonable compatibility between what the institution does and what the most relevant college publics want, consistent with the essential ethos of academic life. This is all a very complicated process. Many administrations make only marginal adjustments to the goals they have inherited; and some make none at all.

Next come priorities. Of the many things that should be done, what can be done? Of the several things that can be done, which are the most important? And, of these, which do not carry costs to the institution and/or to the president that make them unwise to attempt? And, because not everything can be done at once, in what order should the resulting list be approached?

Most presidents want some early project that will not take too much time to complete and that will show clear positive results. A few presidents never find any projects worth the cost; and nearly every project does have a personal cost in time and energy and in potential losses of support. The president, however, must set priorities or risk succumbing to Warren Bennis's "First Law of Academic Pseudodynamics": "Routine work drives out nonroutine work."[2]

Both the above administrative tasks—setting goals and priorities—involve accumulating and analyzing a great deal of information, and carefully weighing institutional and personal benefits and costs. Among many other things, information is needed on the changing intellectual world and the equally changing job market for graduates, on demographic trends, on shifting sources of support, and on the capacities of the institution to deliver results. Information is not a free good, and accumulating it is costly in time and mental energy.

Additionally, the "welfare" of an institution is hard to define. There is no simple definition such as profitability or stock value. Technically, there is no way that the welfare to be maximized can be clearly identified in such complex and changing human groupings as college campuses. Unless, in the words of Kenneth Arrow,

"some sort of consensus on the ends. . .can be formed" there is no possibility of agreement on what constitutes the welfare of the institution; and, thus, his "impossibility theorem."[3]

Welfare on campus is seen quite differently by board members, by faculty, by students, by alumni, by the public, by political authorities, by administrative officers, by the president; and each definition changes over time. A few presidents simplify their task by making only one calculation—calculating what is contributory to the welfare of the president, given the incentives to do so in the presence of job insecurity on one hand and the impossibility of a precise definition of the institution's general welfare on the other. Most try to look at both. Many, in fact, place their concept of the institution's welfare above their own, and are prepared to make personal sacrifices. Leaders of this character must "expect punishments instead of rewards for their pains" as Aaron Wildavsky has said;[4] or at least expect punishments as well as rewards.

After goals and priorities are set comes the necessity to create or revise organizational structures, and to accumulate human and financial resources to achieve the desired results. This also involves reallocation of resources—a delicate task whether financial or human. Following this is the process of monitoring the efficient use of resources and the progress in meeting goals and priorities.

All the above are programmed actions. But there are institutions and times where and when unprogrammed problems arise requiring emergency attention, for example, student unrest, a murder on campus, a fall in the stock market, a change in governmental policy. Time and talent need to be directed quickly to these emergencies, and the capacity to make good decisions under stress becomes crucial. The best-laid plans can come to naught unless unplanned as well as planned situations are handled well. College presidents may face more than their share of such unplanned situations, as do also, for example, city mayors and coaches of sports teams. Bennis's "Second Law of Academic Pseudodynamics" too often applies: "Make whatever grand plans you will, you may be sure the unexpected or the trivial will disturb and disrupt them."[5]

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Human relations responsibilities of the president. The president must report upward to a board (perhaps to more than one if the campus is within a system, or if there is an overall coordinating council for higher education, or both). The president is

seldom board chairperson (presidents chair boards mostly in the Ivy League) and vice presidents are never members of the board; thus, the board is a very independent entity. The academic general manager, along with other managers, must administer a staff. He or she also is involved in "customer relations" with the students; but students are more alert than most customers and, particularly on residential campuses, are concerned with many products and services—not just one; are assembled together with ready opportunities for consultation; and are mostly organized overall or at least in small groups. They rightfully consider themselves members of the academic community and not just customers; the situation is more like that of a trade union or other membership association. Also, there are customer relations with alumni, a group of people that does not exist in the corporate world. President Abbott Lawrence Lowell of Harvard sometimes wished he were "the head of a penitentiary," instead of a university, for then he would have "no trouble. . .with the alumni."[6]

But the greatest difference between a college and business organization is the importance of lateral relations as against vertical ones. There are, in particular, lateral relations with faculty members who are colleagues, not employees, and colleagues with tenure; and, by rule or practice, faculty have essential influence over most of the academic life of the institution.

Additionally, there are many external relationships with the local community, interested outside economic groups, legislative leaders, and many others.

In handling these relationships, the academic president (and his or her executive group), just as other presidents, must provide for (1) a good flow of information, (2) the distribution of rewards and punishments, (3) the building of morale, (4) the handling of conflict within the organization, (5) the protection of institutional autonomy, (6) the definition and defense of organizational integrity, and (7) the production of results. The latter four are especially sensitive in the academic world. Conflict is endemic within academic institutions. Many universities in history have had to protect their autonomy and the freedom of faculty and students. Many issues of integrity and morality of conduct arise. The president must take responsibility for results generated by others over whom he or she has quite limited influence.

An alternative and simpler way of looking at the responsibilities of the administration and the president within it and,

perhaps, a more common one in actual practice is the following:

1. Identify problems, analyze them, and decide in what order they should be approached.
2. Develop a program of solutions to these problems individually and jointly.
3. Organize support for individual parts of this program in proper order and for the total program.
4. Get the human and financial resources necessary to carry out the program.
5. Take administrative action to effectuate the programs.

This sequence flows from analysis to planning to persuasion to action. It is in accord with Dwight D. Eisenhower's definition of leadership: "the ability to decide what is to be done, and then to get others to want to do it."[7]

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Choices and delegations by presidents. Early in their careers, presidents seldom, if ever, confront all of the above assignments all at once. They are too overwhelmed with the immediate burdens placed upon them. They also are usually too inexperienced and know too little about the specific circumstances. Among the many pieces of advice that James Fisher offers new presidents, however, is the admonition to: "Make as many changes and debatable decisions as possible during your honeymoon in office. It will establish a design for change, create precedent, and be accepted by the community. Don't listen seriously to the person who says, 'Wait till you get the feel of the place.' It's too late then."[8]

Whatever the timing, presidents do, nevertheless, confront each aspect of the job descriptions noted above and others, too. They make choices about what they will and will not do, and evolve a pattern of approach to the position—sometimes merely by default.

The president must take general responsibility for major changes and decisions, but the president need not, and in most situations cannot, take individual responsibility for daily details. Thus, the president must decide what to do personally and what to delegate to others. Because what must be delegated to others is of great importance and because the president cannot escape final responsibility, it is essential that the president have his or her own team of top assistants and that the terms of their appointments be

attractive. It may be noted, too, that persons chosen as presidents from within the organization will have more information early on to make major personnel decisions than will outsiders.

The burdens of assembling information on individual performances and on the needs and resources of the institution, the time it takes to do so, and the importance of having all essential information are often underestimated. It also is important that presidents, particularly from the outside, do not commit themselves too early or too totally to what they will do and how they will do it. Some never recover from the brave new world promised in their inaugural address. It is better to say nothing than to say too much. Equally unwise is to wait too long. Timing is of the essence.

Some presidents develop narrow job descriptions for themselves within the total functions of the administration. One former president of a large research institution became, in terms of his interests, the chief collector of rare books. Others have no choice but to narrow their roles where chairpersons of board committees or the board chairperson have taken on both policy-making and supervisory responsibilities; or where vice presidents report, formally or informally, directly to the board; or where faculties, through the provost, dominate academic decision making and administration.

Other presidents develop broad job descriptions where everything crosses their desks. Most, however, have a choice and choose something between the extremes of very narrow and very broad job descriptions. Some presidents choose to concentrate on high-level responsibilities; others on low-level; a few on both. The possible combinations of narrow and broad, of high and low are almost infinite. A decision also must be made whether to stick with institutional continuity or to foster change. (See Figure 5-1.)

Each president must make his or her own decisions about what to do among the things available to be done. Other elements of the administration, including the executive group and the board, must fill in the gaps; and some things may not get done at all.

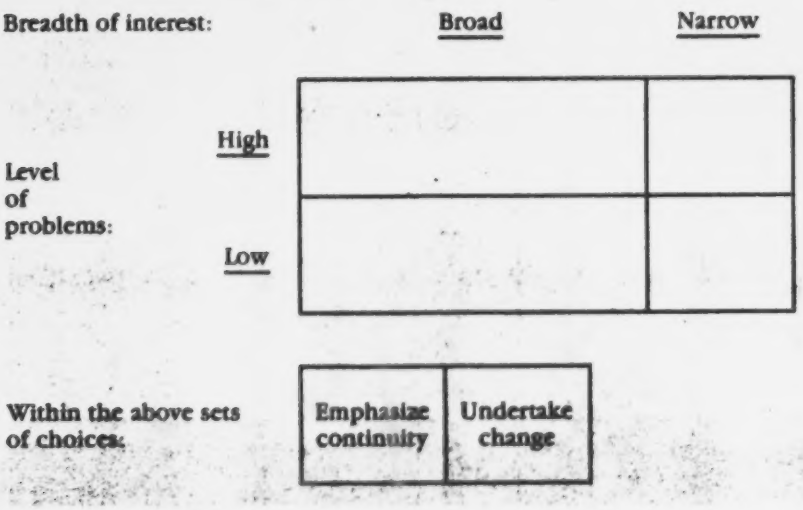
Successful presidents generally develop the following pattern:

- Assemble a strong group of assistants and delegate to them in substantial ways. A basic rule is not to do anything that others can do satisfactorily, and certainly nothing others can do as well or better.

Keep for themselves:

- Essential leadership over goals and priorities.

Figure 5–1. **Presidential choices**



- The most essential contacts with board members, faculty, student and alumni leaders, and influential political authorities.

Avoid:

- Allowing the routine to crowd out the nonroutine.
- Allowing others to set the president's personal calendar.
- Allowing paper to substitute for personal contacts.
- Allowing the immediate and the small to drive out the long-term and the large.

Successful presidents think strategically, not just tactically, about their institution and their conduct in the office.

Figure 5-2 sets forth a list of essential functions that must be performed by the executive group around the president or by the board, and indicates core responsibilities only the president can perform well. This latter list applies particularly to large and complex institutions where the president cannot do everything. In small liberal arts colleges, the president may be able to and may need to expand this list of core responsibilities. In community colleges, with their more dynamic and immediate adjustments to local needs and with their frequently highly involved boards, the presi-

Figure 5–2. **General responsibilities of the administration (executive group and the board) and direct core responsibilities of the president**

General responsibilities of the administration	Suggested direct core responsibilities of the president
Set goals	•
Determine priorities	•
Create or revise the organizational structure	•
Assemble an effective group of assistants	•
Accumulate, allocate and reallocate in detail financial resources	
Select human resources in detail	
Assure effective use of resources in detail	
Handle unprogrammed problems	•
Conduct relationships	•
Board	(only the most important in each category)
Faculty	
Students	
Staff	
Alumni	
External	
Administer	
Flow of information	
System of rewards and punishments	
Morale building	•
Definition and defense of integrity of institution	•
Conflict resolution within the institution	•
Defense of the autonomy of the institution and the freedom of its members	•
Assure satisfactory short-term results	
Assure satisfactory long-term results	•

dent often must have a "hands-on" style; and, in particular, he or she must take responsibility for short-term results. Where possible, however, it generally is better for other officers in the executive

group to take responsibility for short-term results in their areas. This spreads responsibility for current operations away from the president alone. It also conforms to reality. The president, however, must take long-term responsibility for policies and for the quality of personnel administering them.

This expansible and contractible, or rubber-band, job description of the president has served American higher education well. The dimensions of the job can be expanded to fill the full potential of the presidency or, at least, the most essential leadership parts of it when conditions warrant, and then shrink in a less active period. Dimensions can be expanded even to include academic reform when academic reform is possible. Dimensions can shrink even to the role of a *pro forma* presidency when that is all that is possible. They can respond to the specific interests and capabilities of individual presidents, as well as to the opportunities of each time period. There is precedence and license to play the full presidential role or, at the other extreme, to restrict performance to one aspect of it with others filling in where necessary with some parts, perhaps, not played at all. Individual presidents can and do expand and contract their definitions as circumstances permit or require and as their changing desires and convictions lead. Philip Selznick has noted that "a university has much more leeway than most businesses because its goals are less clearly defined and it can give more play to internal forces and historical adaptation";[9] and this is particularly true for the president.

The presidency is a protean role that can be played in many ways. The psychologist Robert Jay Lifton has said that protean roles, ideally, take protean persons capable of "interminable exploration and flux" to fill them; they take "post-modern" individuals who can undertake "relatively easy shifts in belief and identification"; they take men and women who can adapt to varied, complex, and changing situations.[10]

Yet few people are protean. The presidency is a complex job; it changes and the people who hold it evolve over time. But "last year's ideally-suited president may be no match" for this year's needs and issues, or "may not be able to adapt in time," as Fred Balderston has observed.[11] Cohen and March make the similar observation that "times change more rapidly than a man is normally able to."[12] As a consequence, presidential tenures, in the absence of protean men and women, must be at the pleasure of the board.

The skills it takes. The second theme of this section is that the skills it takes to be a good president are very complex and, to a degree, contradictory. After interviewing a number of presidents and chief academic officers, David G. Brown found that leaders must "provide a *sense of direction,*" project a *"sense of enthusiasm,"* and "furnish a *structure for implementation.*"[13] It is rare that one person combines each of these talents to an equal degree, and the specific tasks involved require different skills.

One skill it takes is the ability to work upward with a board (or boards) and, in public institutions, with the governor and key legislators. This requires careful preparation of materials, a reputation for integrity, an attitude of respect, and a willingness to concede to higher authority.

A second skill is to be able to administer a staff through good choice of subordinates, clear and careful instructions, a balanced program of rewards and punishments, and a fair evaluation of results.

The above two skills are in the *vertical* line.

A third skill is the ability to work *laterally* with independent colleagues, particularly faculty members. This demands expertise at negotiation, high sensitivity to personal feelings, and great patience in awaiting results.

A fourth skill, periodically needed, is the ability to handle confrontations, such as occur at times of student unrest with "nonnegotiable demands," or of unionization of the faculty with exorbitant claims, or of attacks on the autonomy of the institution or on the freedom of its members. Confrontations may also occur within a system between the system head and the campus head, or among campus heads, or with other elements of higher education. This requires strategy and tactics in making and resisting demands, in developing your own institutional strength while sapping the strength of others; and a willingness to be personally combative.

These third and fourth skills operate on a *horizontal* line.

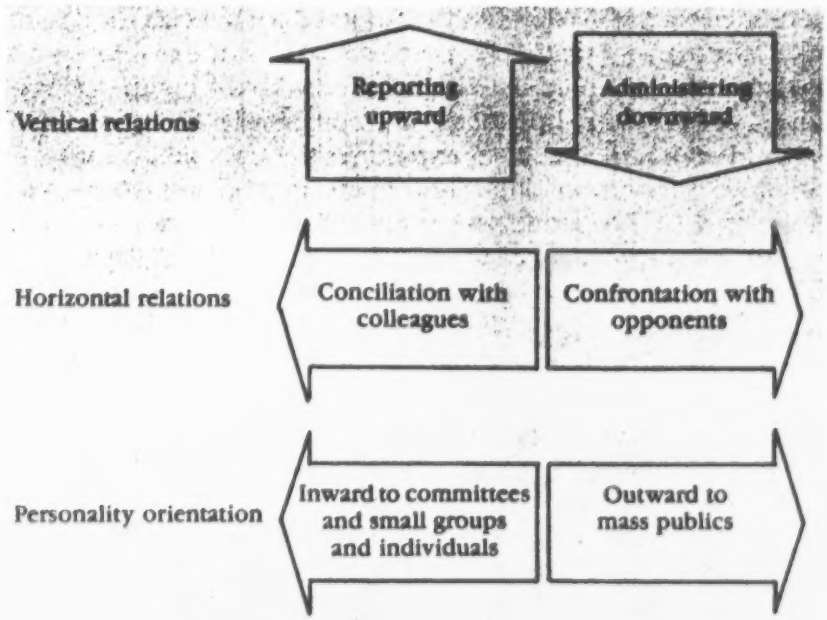
A fifth skill is the ability to work with a whole series of individuals and small groups in give-and-take conversations that fan out in many directions.

A sixth skill is in the area of mass appeal to faculty or students or alumni or the public at large. This appeal must be made personally in the academic world and cannot be delegated, for example, to a Madison Avenue advertising firm. It depends, as James Fisher has said, on charisma, and on an ability to inspire "trust and con-

fidence."[14] Unfortunately, however, as Aaron Wildavsky notes, the charismatic leader requires a "steady diet of admiration,"[15] and adoration for presidents is in short supply in American higher education today.

These six skills (see Figure 5-3) also are required by other types of chief executive officers but with different emphases. The corporate executive must be particularly strong on the second (the ability to administer downward) but less strong in the first (the ability to report upward), because he is more nearly his own boss. The mayor must be able especially to exercise the sixth skill (mass appeal) and the fourth (confrontational). The college president usually is called upon to be relatively stronger in the third skill of horizontal negotiations with colleagues and, ideally, has a combination of all six skills.

Figure 5–3. **Configurations of skills**



But the six skills never come equally in the same individual—being equally good at conciliation and confrontation, at serving upward and administering downward, at small group dealings and at mass appeals. Also, the context of college environments varies greatly. Working with colleagues may be the most essential skill in

a private research university; public mass appeal in a growing land-grant university or in an evangelical college; the capacity to confront others effectively in combat at a newly unionized community college; the choice of high-quality tactics in reporting upward in a state college or state college system dependent on the goodwill of a powerful governor; and good managerial instincts in administering downward in a large private comprehensive university.

In addition, college environments differ not only among themselves but from time to time in the same institution. In the late 1960s, the heads of elite research universities needed to shift from conciliation with colleagues to confrontation with unwanted enemies, and few made the transition effectively.

Knowledge of what skills are required, and in what combinations and when, is important to boards in selecting and ejecting presidents, and to presidents in accepting and exiting assignments. Presidents too often think in terms of acquiring specific skills such as understanding budgets and accounts or contract law, or dealing with the media. These skills can be supplied at the staff level and, in any event, are quite simple compared with the complexities of the above six skills, individually and collectively. Thus, presidents should look at their abilities to perform these six skills, at ways to improve one or more, and at how to obtain other individuals who can offset any inadequacies—if needed.

In recent years, boards of trustees have chosen many lawyers as presidents, perhaps because lawyers, among all professionals, are the great generalists. They are trained and tested in several of the six basic skills including conciliation and confrontation. Lawyers learn about the meaning of words, the importance of clear logic, the ability to write and to speak, the potential intensity of conflict among competing interests, the ability to think laterally, the necessity to deal with complex realities, the importance of due process, and the techniques of listening and asking questions. They make contact with definitions of justice and with the distilled wisdom of the ages that constitutes the Common Law.

Broadly trained generalists may develop in all disciplines but they are more likely to emerge from law, or from schools of public policy, than, for example, from mathematics. The modern college president requires the skills of the generalist but, as yet, "no university offers a Ph.D. in 'getting it all together.'"[16] Harlan Cleveland advanced the view that the modern world needs leaders who display "integrative thinking"—the ability to think in an interconnected

way that is essential for dealing with a world where "all the problems are interdisciplinary and all the solutions are interdepartmental, interprofessional, interdependent, and international."[17]

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Self-protection. The third theme of this section is self-protection. The presidency is a stressful job with potentially unlimited hours. The following suggestions for handling it well and protecting the quality of long-term performance are taken from comments by and observations of the many successful presidents we interviewed:

- Develop a strategy and a set of tactics that fit the individual institution; define carefully the roles to be played; personally analyze the skills that need to be developed.
- Take control of one's own time with policies on hours to be worked, evenings to be on duty, weekends to be absorbed by job-related functions, vacations to be taken. This requires a persuasive secretary and/or spouse to enforce them and a willingness by the president to accept this help; and a sense of respect from board members for the burdens carried. Save some time for unprogrammed developments. Save time and effort for non-job-related activities: athletics, music, gardening, art, religion, etc.
- Agree upon a style of life that is satisfactory to all members of the immediate family, if any.
- Insist on an adequate and competent staff under administrative control of the president; and consider having a chief of staff for operations.
- Reduce input to the president's desk by delegation, and by screening mail, phone calls, and requests for appointments.
- Assure adequate sources of psychological support from family, friends, staff or others; or from meditation; or from professional advice.
- Arrange, in advance, for minimum income security and have possibilities in mind for subsequent activity.
- Give thought to how to enjoy the job as a consumer, to what programs and activities give pleas-

ure, to what opportunities there are for travel and self-development.

- Be realistic about the job, about what can be accomplished, about the inevitable frustrations and criticisms, and about the joys to be experienced—as one experienced president commented: "It is important to have some fun along the way."

Only the president can and only the president will protect the president.

A dilemma exists, however: how to be protective and still be effective. Potential and actual presidents can become too sophisticated, like a gardener who calculates too carefully in advance what trees and shrubs and flowers and lawn will cost in terms of time, energy, and money—and then decides to plant nothing at all. Potential results must not be sacrificed in the course of protecting one's self or the institution will suffer. Higher education has done best with those presidents who planted first and then calculated the personal costs later.

Chapter Notes

1. John P. Kotter, *The General Managers* (New York: Free Press, 1982), 10.
2. Warren Bennis, *The Unconscious Conspiracy* (New York: AMACOM, 1976), 20.
3. Kenneth J. Arrow concludes that "it must be demanded that there be some sort of consensus on the ends of society, or no social welfare function can be formed." See Kenneth J. Arrow, *Social Choice and Individual Values* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1963), 83; and "A Difficulty in the Concept of Social Welfare," in Kenneth J. Arrow and Tibor Scitovsky, eds., *Readings in Welfare Economics* vol. 12 (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, 1969), 164.
4. Aaron Wildavsky, *The Nursing Father: Moses as a Political Leader* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1984), 48.
5. Warren Bennis, *The Unconscious Conspiracy*, 22.
6. Henry Aaron Yeomans, *Abbott Lawrence Lowell* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), 328.
7. Glenn D. Paige, *The Scientific Study of Political Leadership* (New York: Free Press, 1977), 65.

8. James L. Fisher, *Power of the Presidency* (New York: American Council on Education/Macmillan Publishing Co., 1984), 25.

9. Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), 16.

10. Robert J. Lifton, *Revolutionary Immortality: Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1968), 152.

11. Frederick E. Balderston, *Managing Today's University* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974), 93.

12. Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974), 191.

13. David G. Brown, *Leadership Vitality: A Workbook for Academic Administrators* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1979), 51.

14. James Fisher, *Power of the Presidency*, 40.

15. Aaron Wildavsky, *The Nursing Father*, 131.

16. Harlan Cleveland, *The Third Try at World Order* (Philadelphia: World Affairs Council, 1976), 25.

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Leaders, Managers, Survivors, Scapegoats

6

67

Presidents all differ in their strategies, in their tactics, in their personalities, in their codes of personal conduct, in what results they leave behind. Yet for purposes of analysis, they can be grouped into broad categories according to their overall strategies, which will be our chief concern here. Their strategies must, of course, relate to the context in which they find themselves; their choices must fit the context of time and place, or there will be real trouble. Consequently, presidential strategies are, to varying degrees, both chosen and forced upon them.

❧

Pathbreaking leaders. The first category is that of leaders who take charge in moving into new territory. We define such institutional leadership as involving deliberate efforts to create new endeavors, or to improve substantially on the performance and direction of existing endeavors, or a combination of both. The institution, as a result of successful efforts, is clearly different or clearly better or both. Such successful leadership requires both vision and the ability to persuade, or otherwise induce, others to support (or at least not effectively oppose) the vision. It also requires a conducive or, at least, permissive context.

Leaders of this sort may be leaders almost in spite of themselves. They are the founders who must write on a blank sheet of paper; who create something where nothing existed before. They may follow old models in new locations or they may, less commonly, create new or revised models. Among the most famous of the historic founders are: Benjamin Franklin at Pennsylvania (est.

1755), Thomas Jefferson at Virginia (est. 1824), Daniel Coit Gilman at Johns Hopkins (1875–1902), Andrew Dickson White at Cornell (1868–1885), William Rainey Harper at Chicago (1890–1906), David Starr Jordan at Stanford (1891–1913), and M. Carey Thomas at Bryn Mawr (1894–1922).

After World War II, and particularly in the 1960s, more than 1,000 new campuses were started and some of their founders led in new directions, including: Abraham Sachar at Brandeis (1948–1968), Peter Masiko, Jr., at Miami-Dade (1962–1980), John Elmendorf at New College (1965–1972), Ed Weidner at Green Bay (1966–), Harris Wofford at Old Westbury (1955–1970), Franklin K. Patterson at Hampshire (1966–1971), Abbott Kaplan at SUNY-Purchase (1967–1978), Charles McCann at Evergreen State (1968–1977) and, within the University of California, Roger Revelle at San Diego (1958–1964), Dean McHenry at Santa Cruz (1961–1974), and Dan Aldrich at Irvine (1962–1984).

Pathbreaking leaders may seek to make revolutionary changes in existing institutions, turning them in quite new directions. Among the most successful pathbreaking leaders were: Eliphalet Nott at Union College (1804–1866), Charles W. Eliot at Harvard (1869–1909), James Burrill Angell at Michigan (1871–1909), Benjamin Ide Wheeler at Berkeley (1899–1919), Woodrow Wilson at Princeton (1902–1910), Charles Richard Van Hise at Wisconsin (1903–1918), James Arnold Blaisdell at Pomona (1910–1928), William T. Foster at Reed (1910–1919), Arthur Morgan at Antioch (1920–1932), Frank Aydelotte at Swarthmore (1921–1940), Karl Compton at MIT (1930–1948), Scott Buchanan at St. John's (1937–1947), J. Paul Leonard at San Francisco State (1945–1957), and John Toll at SUNY-Stony Brook (1965–1978).

Leaders such as Alexander Meiklejohn at Amherst (1912–1923) and as head of the Experimental College at Madison (1926–1932), and Robert Maynard Hutchins at Chicago (1929–1945) made comparable efforts but with less to show in the way of permanent results since their visions met great resistance in the contexts to which they were directed; and Francis Wayland at Brown (1827–1855) and Henry Philip Tappan at Michigan (1852–1863) were on the right track but too far ahead of their times. Some have chosen to lead back to earlier times, in a counter-revolution, as did Jeremiah Day at Yale (1817–1847), and A. Lawrence Lowell at Harvard (1909–1933). Yet, successful or not, all these presidents are among the legendary figures, giants in the groves of academe.

Other leaders make more evolutionary changes, often quite substantial, building on the history of the institution and the changing nature of American society, as have James H. Kirkland at Vanderbilt (1893–1937), James Bryant Conant at Harvard (1933–1953), Herman B Wells at Indiana (1937–1962), John Hannah at Michigan State (1946–1969), Wallace Sterling at Stanford (1949–1968), Robert Goheen at Princeton (1957–1972), John Sawyer at Williams (1961–1973), Kingman Brewster at Yale (1963–1977), and Sr. Joel Read at Alverno (1968–). Some also choose to work at the national level as did Conant on science policy and on secondary education (among other things), and as has the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame (1952–) on civil rights policy and modernization of the governance of Catholic institutions of higher education (again among other things).

These evolutionary leaders have worked more with persuasion and tend to have taken their time at it, while revolutionary leaders have used more confrontational methods and are more likely to have announced their programs in a manifesto at the start, as did Woodrow Wilson. In his inaugural address, "Princeton for the Nation's Service," Wilson stated his "wish to see every student made, not a man of his task, but a man of the world" for whom "social service is the high law of duty." Turning from the aristocratic tradition, he urged: "We are not put into this world to sit still and know, we are put into it to act," and "university men ought to hold themselves bound to walk the upper roads of usefulness which run along the ridges and command views of the general fields of life."[1]

Other pathbreakers are saviours of institutions otherwise on the downward slope to extinction as in some of the entrepreneurial liberal arts colleges of today.

A few persons go down in history as great leaders not so much for great changes they have brought about, but because of the force of their personalities, as have Henry Wriston at Brown (1937–1955) and Robert Gordon Sproul at California (1930–1958). Alumni remember them throughout all of their lives.

To be a pathbreaking leader takes a certain type of personality. Personality requirements include the capacity for vision, courage in advancing it, persistence in pursuing it, personal power in overcoming resistance, and a willingness both to endure and to inflict pain along the way. Charles William Eliot believed the president "should live like the captain of a ship, who eats alone. He must never be charged with playing favorites; he must not be tempted

by friendship to falter in the sevice of the institution whose welfare was confided to his care. He must be ready to say No as often as Yes, and to disappoint frequently. . .To a questioner who asked him, after he had been at the head of Harvard for a few years, to name the quality most essential to a college president, he answered, 'The capacity to inflict pain.'"[2]

The foregoing sets a very high definition for leadership. Most presidents look upon themselves as leaders. They do not, however, use the restrictive definitions of substantial impacts in breaking new ground or leaving a heroic image. Rather, they use the more modest definition of being "out in front" as a guide or conductor on more beaten paths. Some, however, think they are leaders when they are only out in front, as a bellwether in a flock of sheep.[3] One president said, "I should like to be perceived as a leader even as I am being run out of town."

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Managerial leaders. Managerial leaders constitute the second category. They are concerned more with the efficient pursuit of what is already being done, of what some constituency wants to have done, or of what circumstances may require to be done. They continue and they react more than they initiate. By contrast, pathbreaking leaders have their own ideas of how to make the institution more effective in serving some great goal or set of goals. A few managers are merely "contented to crawl about in the beggardom of rules," in the words of von Clausewitz.[4] Pathbreaking leaders are more likely to change rules or to operate outside standard rules, and always seek to go beyond existing practices and policies over which such leaders seek to set themselves as "superior." Managerial leaders, as defined by Aaron Wildavsky, are more concerned with "small, repetitive choices that reinforce existing institutions" and pathbreaking leaders with "large, unusual ones that create new designs."[5] In the terminology of James McGregor Burns, pathbreaking leaders are "transforming" and managerial leaders are "transactional."[6] Pathbreaking leaders are concerned more with the long-run effectiveness of the total organization and managerial leaders with short-run effectiveness in the performance of tasks.

Managerial leaders vary greatly in what they choose to manage and how aggressive they are about their management. They

may choose to manage the bureaucracy of the institution below them, or the hierarchy of power above and around them, or external relations, or use of resources, or internal community life, or academic programs, or mostly some combination of these and other endeavors. They may choose to drive hard or softly within their chosen realm of concerns. Managerial leaders are defined in detail by the areas they seek to cover and by the intensity of their efforts within them. Along the way they may help, marginally, to change the directions of the institution and, significantly, to improve the efficiency of its operation.

In normal times, boards of trustees and faculty selection committees are more likely to choose managerial leaders than pathbreaking leaders because they usually are more interested in good management than in transforming their institutions. Also, boards and committees want predictability in conduct of the office and a minimum of controversy—a nonthreatening personality.

Benezet, Katz, and Magnusson, in their study of some 25 presidents, concluded that: "Today's president . . . inherits a structure that mandates a managerial role."[7] Presidents are more likely to choose to be managerial leaders rather than pathbreaking leaders because their ranges of talents, while usually broad, do not encompass all those required for pathbreaking leadership. Efficient management is what most trustees want and what most presidents can provide. But there is more to these choices than personal preferences. There are very few situations that permit successful pathbreaking leadership—the resources are too few and the constraints too great. One total constraint that prevents pathbreaking leadership from emerging is a board that seeks to manage the institution in detail.

An intermediate category, between the pathbreaking leader and the manager, is the entrepreneurial manager. This leadership approach is not based upon vision, but upon grasp of nascent and effervescent opportunity in following changing and new chances to attract students or money or both. It calls for sensitivity to the potential markets to be served and to patrons to be cultivated, and a willingness and ability to follow quickly and well where the beacons shine. Quick perception of possibilities and agility in pursuit of them are requisite. Today, entrepreneurial managers are found particularly in the less selective institutions. As market and financial pressures have intensified in recent years, this category of presidents has grown rapidly.[8]

Survivors. Survivors, or timeservers, are the third major type. They are not intent on making their institutions either more effective in the long run or more efficient in the short run; they seek, instead, to continue in their presidencies for as long as they can, at least for a respectable period of time—say five years—and perhaps then move on to another presidency with no one blacklisting them.

Survivors also come in more than one dimension. There are manipulators who "play politics" to keep their positions—adapting to changing constellations of power and to changing institutional needs and imperatives. They survive by their wits and lack of scruples. There are also the willing and even eager servants to power who determine where power lies and then serve it faithfully; and power may lie with the board chairperson, or the alumni, or the governor, or the mayor, or the agricultural interests, or the deans of the professional schools, or the faculty union, among other places. They survive by their shrewdness and self-discipline.

There are, additionally, the low-profile bureaucrats who follow the rules, who seek to make no mistakes, who take no responsibility, who initiate nothing, who lie low, who open and close doors and open and sort mail. They shelter behind union contracts and send all grievances to arbitrators; they welcome detailed state and federal rules that leave little latitude for independent action; they encourage the board or the faculty to make all decisions. They survive by their docility and good temper; and, if the price of survival is to do nothing, that is a price they are quite willing to pay. Some low-profile survivors go into a defensive mode, pulling up the drawbridges to their castles and putting their most loyal vice presidents on the parapets, while they try to wait out the siege—themselves no longer sword in hand. Others just disappear into their offices as invisible presidents, or into jet airplanes to attend every remotely related conference. They survive by not being seen, and they are happy to be forgotten in future history if they can only be forgotten about today; they are permanently "out to lunch."

John Gardner once said that "the greater portion of those in a position to lead are timeservers."[9] We did not observe this to be true among college presidents. It is a much smaller portion but one that is growing.

Scapegoats. A fourth major type is the scapegoat. No president, unless an absolute masochist and few are, starts out with this goal, but many end up in this category. And many know in advance that one role they may play is lightning rod. It is natural for there to be scapegoats: Many people pass the buck up the line to the president, and board members may blame their own failures downward on someone else, and the president is the likely target. Many current presidents, in turn, blame their immediate predecessor or predecessors, and engage in ex-post scapegoating. This may seem excusable to them, for their successor or successors may subsequently scapegoat them. Entire groups, when excited due to fear and anxiety and when responsibility is ambiguous, may engage in scapegoating against some other group or a chosen individual, even though as Gordon Allport noted, the "victim" may be "wholly innocent."[10] Rosabeth Moss Kanter has observed that "in unmanageable situations with seemingly intractable problems, constituencies can easily scapegoat leaders."[11]

Scapegoating may be not only an emotional response but also a coldly chosen tactic to solve a problem. From an institutional point of view, scapegoating can be highly desirable, however questionable it may be morally. It can have a therapeutic effect by concentrating the blame on one person who then can be eliminated, thus absolving the institution as a whole and particularly other decision makers of a sense of guilt, and it may have public relations value by deflecting blame from those who carry on the responsibilities, allowing them to write on a clean slate. The institution can go on better by containing any damage to itself, by starting again with new leadership and, perhaps, by charting new directions. There is almost always an element of "unwarranted blame" from the point of view of justice, but scapegoating is warranted from the point of view of the institution's survival and welfare, as important constituencies are appeased by "kicking the rascal out." The best thing some presidents ever did was walk the plank.

Nearly all presidents experience some element of scapegoating, but for a few, it becomes, at least temporarily, a full-time occupation, and they usually cannot "fight back."[12] Some presidents, facing this possibility, try to escape by creating their own favorite scapegoats including vice presidents or campus heads or other administrative officers or unpopular faculty members or students.

Scapegoating is an ancient device. *Leviticus* 16: As an "atonement," "because of their transgressions in all their sins," they shall choose a "scapegoat" who shall "bear upon him all their inequities" and who shall be let go into "the wilderness."

John Gardner, at the 1968 inauguration of a president who, it turned out, lasted one and one-half years, said:[13]

> We have now proven beyond reasonable argument that a university community can make life unlivable for a president. We make him the scapegoat for every failure of society. . .We can fight so savagely among ourselves that he is clawed to ribbons in the process.

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Other types. There is, of course, an almost endless series of variations of and mixtures within these several presidential types. Also, it should be noted that a single president may not always play the same role: for example, he or she may start out as a managerial leader and end up as a survivor, or begin as a pathbreaking leader and end up as a scapegoat, or come in as a hard manager and end up as a soft one. Appearances and performances may also differ: for example, the person who still tries to look like a leader but who actually is a survivor—a pathetic type. Additionally, a president who was a pathbreaking leader one place may choose to be a low-profile manager the next place; sometimes to the disappointment of the next place.

The four types of roles and their combinations do not, by any means, exhaust the possibilities created by human ingenuity in responding to situations. Among other choices that have been made and are being made are for presidents to be:

- A *royal personage* presiding as titular head over internal and external events with dignity and style, while allowing or encouraging others to make the decisions; the always-present host and master of ceremonies who never forgets a name or remembers a principle to defend; "the mighty gentleman" who "stand(s) on a height" and "squirt(s) perfume on the ensemble."[14]
- A *climber* using each current position as a step on a ladder that hopefully leads higher.
- A faithful *caretaker* holding the institution together, often on an interim basis, and accepting the

> personal costs with good grace—the "home guard" type with total institutional loyalty who is oriented to institutional rather than personal survival.[15]

The general points most worth remaking are that presidents face choices of strategies to try to follow whether within a wider or narrower range; that circumstances seldom by themselves solely determine the one and only strategy or variation of a strategy to follow; that each president must take some responsibility for the choice made—recognizing that the choice should provide a reasonable fit with the current context. The context most of the time in most places favors managerial leaders, but there are also times when pathbreaking leaders can more easily rise, and other times when survivors inherit the academic earth, and still others when scapegoats are extruded from the groves of academe.

Figure 6-1 (see next page) is an illustrative listing of some of the many presidential roles.

Figure 6–1. **Presidential roles**

Pathbreaking leaders:

Founders or saviors	Revolutionary leaders of existing institutions	Evolutionary leaders of existing institutions
(1) creative	(3) toward future	(5) inside the campus
(2) imitative	(4) toward past	(6) outside the campus
		(7) both

Managerial leaders:

Interests:	Aggressiveness: High	Aggressiveness: Low
Broad	(8)	(9)
Narrow	(10)	(11)
External ("entrepreneurial") opportunities	(12)	

Survivors:

(13) Political manipulators
(14) Servants of power
(15) Low-profile bureaucrats
(16) Presidents *in absentia*

Scapegoats:

(17) Emotionally chosen
(18) Chosen by calculation
(19) Both

Et cetera:

(20) Royal personages
(21) Ladder climbers
(22) "Home-guard" caretakers

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Chapter Notes

1. Woodrow Wilson, "Princeton for the Nation's Service" (An inaugural address delivered at Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., 25 October 1902). In Arthur S. Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 14 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 182–185.

2. Henry James, *Charles W. Eliot*, vol. 1 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 309–310.

3. Isaiah Berlin describes the passage in Tolstoy where "the great man is likened to the ram whom the shepherd is fattening for slaughter. Because the ram duly grows fatter, and perhaps is used as a bellwether for the rest of the flock, he may easily imagine that he is the leader of the flock, and that the other sheep go where they go solely in obedience to his will. He thinks this and the flock may think it too." Isaiah Berlin, *The Hedgehog and the Fox: An Essay on Tolstoy's View of History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1953), 27–28. Leo Tolstoy's simile appears in *War and Peace*, Epilogue, p. 1, chap. ii.

4. Karl von Clausewitz [1832], *On War* (New York: Penguin Books, 1968), 184.

5. Aaron Wildavsky, "Political Leaders are Part of Political Systems: Leadership as a Function of Regime" (Paper prepared for the Bentley Chair Conference Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 17–18 May 1985), 10.

6. James McGregor Burns, *Power to Lead: The Crisis in the American Presidency* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 4.

7. Louis T. Benezet, Joseph Katz, and Frances W. Magnusson, *Style and Substance* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1981), 42.

8. For analyses and case studies of the entrepreneurial style, see Ellen Earle Chaffee, *Case Studies in College Strategy* (Boulder: National Center for Higher Education Management Systems, 1983). Also see Ellen Earle Chaffee, "Successful Strategic Management in Small Private Colleges," *Journal of Higher Education* 55, no. 2 (March/April 1984): 212–241. Kim Cameron concludes that institutions facing decline should adopt an approach "that focuses on flexibility, innovation, and proactivity" in Kim Cameron, "Strategic Responses to Conditions of Decline: Higher Education and the Private Sector," *Journal of Higher Education* 54, no. 4 (July/August 1983): 359–380. Robert D. Peck describes successful small-college management in an uncertain environment as requiring "An entrepreneurial spirit, intuitive decision making, an effective intelligence-gathering network, planning for the future using analogies from the past, and a penchant for keeping options open," in Robert D. Peck, "The Entrepreneurial College Presidency," *Educational Record* 64, no. 1 (Winter 1983): 18–25. Also see Robert D. Peck, "Entrepreneurship as a Significant Factor in Successful Adaptation," *Journal of Higher Education* 55, no. 2 (March/April 1984): 269–285. For case studies of

three "turnaround colleges" with entrepreneurial presidents, see Martine F. Hammond, "Survival of Small Private Colleges: Three Case Studies," *Journal of Higher Education* 55, no. 3 (May/June 1984): 360–388.

9. *Leadership: A Sampler of the Wisdom of John W. Gardner,* with a Foreword by Harlan Cleveland (Minneapolis: Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, 1981), 13.

10. Harvard University, Department of Psychology, *ABC's of Scapegoating,* with a Foreword by Gordon W. Allport (Chicago: Central YMCA College, 1943), 6.

11. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "An Agenda for Leadership in America," *New Leadership in the Public Interest: The Report* (New York: NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, October 29, 1980), 22.

12. Gordon W. Allport, Foreword to *ABC's of Scapegoating,* 13.

13. Warren Bennis, *The Leaning Ivory Tower* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1973), 59.

14. Somnia Vana, "College Education: An Inquest," *The Freeman* 4, no. 103 (1 March 1922): 584.

15. For a discussion of "cosmopolitans" and "home guard" types, see David Riesman, *Constraint and Variety in American Education* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1958), 38–39.

Changing Times and Changing Environments

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Historical Contexts

7

81

The late 1950s and early 1960s (1955–1965) were a vintage period for many, even most, college and university presidencies. But it was by no means a normal base period for comparison with what went before or what came later; yet it is widely used as such to this day. Reference back to this base period has blighted the appraisals of many presidencies since that time. The only comparable period in terms of presidential opportunities, however, was from about 1865 to 1910 with the development of land-grant universities in the public sector and the modern research university in the private sector, and with the shift in most colleges from the classical to the neoclassical curriculum. Both periods, starting nearly a century apart, were times for founders and planners and builders and innovators. They were the golden ages.

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The good times. In the 1960s, enrollments more than doubled from about four million to nine million students; more than five hundred new campuses were created, an average of one a week for ten years; and innovation was in the air. Preparation for this period had generally begun in the late 1950s—preparation for the great "tidal wave" of students and the several smaller tidal waves of change that swept over many institutions. Growth in existing institutions, foundation of new institutions, and changing patterns for both old and new institutions created unusual opportunities for leadership. But more than these forces were at work.

Higher education had an extremely elevated priority in terms of national attention and the flow of financial resources. The United States was responding to the Russian challenge in science after

Sputnik, to the new emphasis on the creation of human capital as the greatest source of wealth, and to increasingly insistent demands for greater equality of opportunity for the poor, minorities, and women. Never before (and possibly never again) were so many challenges of great national significance placed before higher education in such a short period of time. Beyond this was a mood of optimism in the nation. The United States was the great world power economically, politically, and militarily. The nation was in the midst of the greatest phase of continuing prosperity it has ever known in terms of rising gross domestic product per capita. The "new frontier" of John F. Kennedy held out the view that we could be whatever we wanted to be as a nation; and that what we wanted to be could only be accomplished with essential inputs from higher education. The mood on campus was one of barely restrained euphoria.

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The bad times. This euphoria did not last long. In May and June of 1970, at least 1,000 campuses were on strike. Many once mighty academic leaders fell in the midst of these campus battles. The future was already beginning to be seen to hold a slowing of growth in the number of students and then a decline. The nation was becoming less concerned with science, with equality of opportunity, and with a scarcity of human capital (a surplus of Ph.D.s was already in prospect). The mood was becoming more one of retreating to the traditional than welcoming the innovative. The "new depression"[1] engulfed higher education, as a series of recessions set in.

Never before in American history had higher education gone from a location so high on the mountain to a place so low in the valley, and so quickly. No time was ever better for the university and college president than the late 1950s and early 1960s, and no time was ever worse than the late 1960s and early 1970s. The best of times became the worst of times in almost no time at all. The planners and the builders and the innovators gave way to the managers and the survivors and the scapegoats within the span of half a decade.

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The new times. The late 1980s are different from the early 1960s, and it is not realistic to expect as many pathbreaking leaders as when growth and change were the order of the day. The late 1980s also are different from the late 1960s and early 1970s when the furies of student and faculty protest were let loose, to be fol-

lowed by the shock of economic crises triggered by the actions of oil-producing countries. And the late 1980s also are different from the late 1970s and early 1980s, which were relatively quiescent as campus enrollments were relatively stable and the economy was less disrupted. The late 1980s are different, too, from most other periods in the history of American higher education in that surrounding conditions will conduce more than normally toward the practice of survival skills on many campuses.

In the early 1960s, the choice was to lead or to manage; in the late 1980s, it is more whether to manage or to survive. Based on observation, it appears that few presidents today can be placed in the pathbreaking leadership category (one leading president, who has served for 30 years, contrasted in the interview with him, the "pygmies" of today with the "giants" of yesterday), and these few pathbreaking leaders are mostly in still-growing institutions in the South and West or in threatened institutions in the North and East. A significant number of presidents today must be placed in the survivor category, particularly in some comprehensive public colleges and universities and in some community colleges. Struggling, less-selective liberal arts colleges are now the best environment for pathbreaking leaders; and center-city community colleges, riven by fractionalization on campus and off, are the most conducive to a survivor approach. The former create the new heroes; the latter, the new casualties.

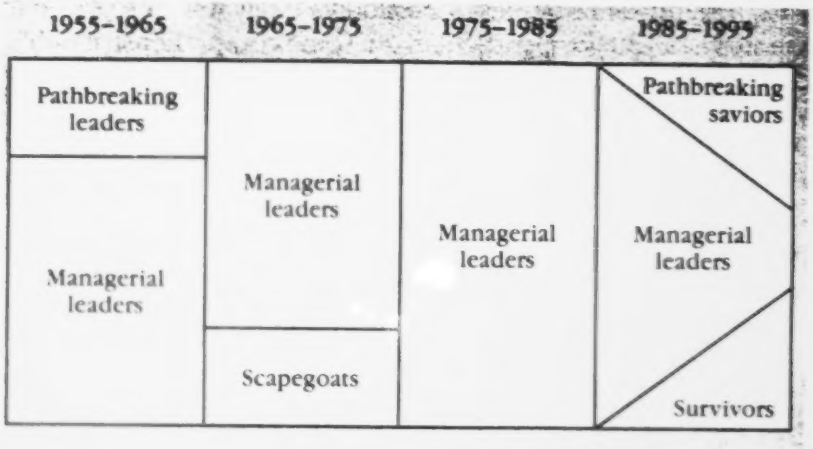
It takes great personal ability and determination, and selective environments, to lead in the 1980s; and for many presidents, a survival mode is either an attractive possibility or a harsh necessity. Fewer leaders and more survivors mark the contemporary scene. The great era for scapegoats was around 1970.

The standard type of president in modern, as in former times, is the managerial leader. Pathbreaking leaders only emerge in substantial numbers when times are propitious, as after the Civil War and in the 1960s. For a president to go down in history as a leader, higher education or the individual institution involved must first of all be in a leadership mode; only a very few presidents, by dint of character and ability, ever rise far above the potentialities of the context. The survivors show up most when pressures and constraints are so great that presidencies are less attractive to more assertive personalities and when the conduct of presidents, regardless of their personalities, gets ground down to its ultimate low point. (See Figures 7-1 and 7-2.)

Figure 7–1. **Emphases in modern history on presidential types**

Period	Characteristic types
After the Civil War	Pathbreaking leaders
World War I to 1950s	Managerial leaders Royal personages
Late 1950s and early 1960s	Pathbreaking leaders
Late 1960s and early 1970s	Scapegoats
Late 1970s and early 1980s	Managerial leaders
Late 1980s	Managerial leaders Survivors

Figure 7–2. **Impressionistic view of recent changes in presidential roles**



Differential stress. Since the end of World War II, there have been several periods of change and crisis, and the possibility of more such periods stretches out as far as human wisdom can see ahead. The central theme of David D. Henry's *Challenges Past, Challenges Present,*[2] written for The Carnegie Council on Higher Education, is that "crisis and stress" are normal for higher education—now one crisis or stress, now another. After World War II came the GI rush, then the Joe McCarthy witch-hunt years, to be

followed by the impact of Sputnik, then the "tidal wave" of students, then the student revolts, then the OPEC crisis and a series of recessions, and then the slowing of the growth rate in student numbers. (See Figure 7-3.)

Figure 7–3. **Challenge and conflict on campus**

Period and Challenge	Conflicts*	
	"Internal"	"External"
1945–49: GI Rush	All together	
1949–54: McCarthy witch-hunt		Faculty v. board Campus v. community
1957–62: Sputnik and science	All together	
1964–70: Student revolts	Faculty v. faculty Students v. administration Faculty v. administration	Faculty v. board Campus v. community
1973–75: OPEC crisis and recessions	Minor conflicts	
1980–85: Slowing growth in student enrollments	Minor conflicts	
1986–97: Overall decline in student enrollments	Faculty v. faculty Faculty v. administration	

*"Internal" is defined here as involving relations within the faculty and between the faculty and administration; "external," for these purposes, includes conflicts with elements in the board and the surrounding community.

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Each of these periods has been one of change and/or crisis. But only one was not generally handled well by colleges and universities. The GIs were welcomed and educated. Joe McCarthy, with essential help from the courts and the Army and the U.S. Senate, was turned back, although damage was done in the interim.[3]

In response to Sputnik, American university science became the best in the world. The "tidal wave" of students was absorbed; no one was turned away and quality was maintained. In the 1970s, costs often were cut moderately and institutions survived; and in the early 1980s, slower growth was accommodated. At the end of all these successive shocks, higher education was much bigger and, overall, much better than ever before.

The one failure is of special interest as we look to the future. This failure came in the period of student revolts. The impact of student revolts was greatest in the large and academically elite research universities. Faculties were divided within themselves; faculties and boards were in conflict; and campuses lost public support. "Governance by consensus. . . broke down in the mid-60s,"[4] as John D. Millett observed.

The other political crisis was at the time of Senator Joe McCarthy. Then, however, faculties were largely united and usually found themselves in support of their presidents, even though there were faculty-board splits and campus-community antagonisms. Internally, however, the campuses held together; faculties and administrations generally were on the same side.

Several of the challenges—meeting the GI rush, the impacts of Sputnik, the tidal wave of students—found everyone together on campus and off. The challenges of economic shocks in the 1970s and of slowing growth in the early 1980s brought some conflict on campus but usually not severe.

The future, as viewed from the recent past, holds two types of conflicts that warrant concern: faculty versus faculty and faculty versus administration. Decline, where it takes place and where it is severe, encourages both types of conflict. We have experienced how unfortunate faculty versus faculty conflicts can be, as during the student revolts. We have seen how unfortunate faculty versus administration conflicts can be at that time and also in those few institutions that experienced sharp declines in resources in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Both types of conflicts are likely on many campuses in the next decade. Faculty versus faculty conflicts will arise where student

numbers go down substantially and the remaining students are distributed in new patterns among fields. This is likely to happen in many, and even in most, institutions. Such developments not only can set faculty against faculty, but also faculty against administration since the administration must make the difficult decisions. This is a lethal combination. It is internal conflicts that have most torn campuses apart, with external conflicts taking second place. And it is internal conflicts that most test governance and leadership.

Kenneth Boulding has argued how much more difficult it is to manage decline than growth ("the trauma of decline");[5] and the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education in *Three Thousand Futures* noted how stressful for the "internal life of the campus" decline can be: "This life is threatened by the cessation of growth."[6] It is easier to build than to maintain; to maintain than to trim; to trim than to cut; to cut than to close. As a consequence, some presidents in declining circumstances say they "let her drift" or that they are "shoving it on to the next guy."

Change and crisis require good systems of governance and effective leadership. Change and some crises lie ahead. In good times, a campus largely runs itself; and the contributions made by differing systems of governance and differing qualities of leadership are minimal—many of James March's "light bulbs" do perform alike. But good times do not lie ahead for all institutions. The test of any institution lies in action. And the action that lies in the near future will provide some institutions with stress tests. It is wise to be prepared in the quality of governance and the effectiveness of leadership.

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Looking forward. Two main scenarios can be and have been written about the future historical context of colleges and universities. One is a scenario of managing decline and fighting constraints. The other is one of meeting challenges and giving leadership. These scenarios have been set forth as follows:

> Scenario One by Stephen K. Bailey:[7]
>
> Once upon a time there may have been a golden age for college and university presidents—an age when perquisites, trustee confidence, faculty deference, student respect, institutional autonomy, and general public support for higher education combined to fill academic leaders with an Olympian status and with a sense of manifest influence and destiny. Some would identify the first half of the twentieth century as such an age when, in the

words of Harlan Cleveland, the "exhilaration exceeded the exhaustion." But no one would make such claims for the past fifteen years—or for the next ten. College and university presidents are presently and prospectively a beleaguered lot. Most of their institutions are faced with shrinking enrollments and shrinking resources in an inflation-ridden economy. Beset more and more by monitoring and regulatory impulses from near and distant governing and coordinating authorities, sapped by the contentiousness and litigiousness of faculty and students, battered by conflicting inside and outside pressures on such intractable issues as equity in athletics and divestment in South Africa, worn down by internal adversary proceedings that diminish a distantly remembered sense of collegiality, depressed by the bone weariness attendant on relentless conflict resolution, college and university presidents struggle to keep their noses above water, let alone their souls on top.

There are surely a few who find psychic satisfaction in nibbling down the inches of paper in their in-baskets, discovering ways to soften the impact of budgetary decrements, or humoring colleagues down from highs of anger. But for every resilient and ebullient administrator there must be a hundred filled with self-doubt and with a vague and corrosive bewilderment. The fact is that for many it is not very much fun anymore. They continue from a sense of duty, from a reluctance to lose status, from an often meritless hope that things will somehow become easier. But their eyes become less luminous, reminding all of us that few sadnesses of the world exceed the act of witnessing clear lenses of vision being scratched into opaqueness by the abrasions of contentious minutiae.

The next decade of administrators will be challenged time and again by Charles Eliot's reminder that the prime requisite of their success will be "their willingness to give pain."

Scenario Two by Richard M. Cyert:[8]

We have described some of the characteristics of the '80s and have attempted to demonstrate how these characteristics will affect universities. In general, we have painted a gloomy picture. Universities will be faced with lower enrollments, which will lead to financial problems. We did not dwell on the fact that there is little hope that private giving will increase enough to compensate. There can be some hope that if inflation abates, as predicted, that

securities markets might improve and enable endowment incomes to increase. But when all variables are taken into account, it is still true that universities will be struggling financially. The danger is that the condition will divert faculty members from concentrating on excellence in education and research. For a variety of reasons it is reasonable to expect strong tendencies in that direction. We then went through a number of actions that might be taken now and when the crisis occurs to alleviate or eliminate some of the problems.

All of the proposed solutions, however, were characterized by one common element. They all require strong leadership from the president. Management in the '80s must be more centralized than has traditionally been the case. In the '80s, presidents must again become educational leaders in their institutions. Even fund-raising activities may have to take a back seat to the necessity of having the president function as an intellectual leader. In their actions and in their utterances, the presidents must embody the search of excellence that they want and need in faculty members. No longer can the president be strictly an outside person. The demands of the inside are going to overwhelm the demands of the outside. The president will need to write more and speak more to the faculty in large and small groups. Only through such intense activity can the university remain a viable institution in the society. If the battle for excellence is forsaken for survival, universities will not survive. Without the president at the end of the line, the faculty will not follow. The demands on the president will be greater than the heavy ones imposed in the '60s and '70s. It will clearly be a time for presidents who can lead and act, and the prize is the continued life and progress of the university itself.

Scenario One will come true for many institutions and come true for much of some segments of American higher education. It will result from drift, from short-term opportunism, from an emphasis on survival. Scenario Two also will come true for some institutions and, perhaps, for nearly all of some segments of higher education. It will result from conscious effort, from long-term visions, from a positive response to challenge. What remains to be seen is how much and what parts of higher education will respond more to Scenario One or more to Scenario Two. That is the most important single question about the future of American higher education for the rest of this century.

Looking backward. As a preface to the changes that have taken and are now taking place in both the external and internal environments of higher education, it may be of interest to look at what it was once like in the memories of persons still active.

- William Lowe Bryan was president of Indiana University (Indiana) for 35 years to 1937. Herman B Wells, who was his successor, has written of Bryan's approach to the presidency as follows:[9]

> President Bryan had an unusual style of administration but an efficient one. Before going to his office in the morning, he did his reading or his writing in his study. Then by ten o'clock he was in his office, devoting the first hour to correspondence, telephone calls, and the minutiae of administration. For the next hour he had appointments with members of the faculty and staff and with his administrative associates. While a dean I discovered that his appointments rarely lasted more than ten minutes and I therefore went to them well prepared. Also, it was the custom in those days to come to him with two matters in mind, one of which was unimportant and the other important. Shrewd administrators attempted to explore his mood in the opening minute of the conversation and, on the basis of that, to decide which matter to bring forth, the unimportant or the important one. After the presentation, Dr. Bryan would ask such questions as he wished, and, by the end of the ten minutes, he had given his decision from which, as the university was then organized, there was no appeal. I must add that as far as I was concerned decisions were on the whole fair, wise, and appropriate.
>
> I have never known a more efficient administrator than President Bryan. I admire enormously the fact that he could take care of the routine of the day in two hours of a morning. After lunch he returned to his study, remaining until four o'clock, when he went back to the president's office to sign the mail and handle any pressing items that had arisen since noon.

Bryan left the State of Indiana only once a year to visit the foundations in New York City.

- Ray Lyman Wilbur served as president of Stanford University from 1916 to 1943. He once told Herman Wells that "here I am the academic, civil, and ecclesiastical authority." He was able to be the "authority" while serving as Secretary of the Interior for four

years in the Cabinet of President Hoover, making many phone calls and occasional visits, by train, to the campus.

Alvin Eurich, who was one of Wilbur's assistants, recalled that Wilbur's predecessor, David Starr Jordan, wrote out the annual budget in longhand on two pages of legal-sized paper for oral presentation to the board of trustees. According to Eurich: "For Wilbur, a meeting of two hours was too long. In fact, when he returned from Washington and presented his budget to the Board of Trustees, they discussed it for a longer period than he thought necessary. Consequently, he said, 'Gentlemen, you may discuss the budget all day. As for me, I have more important things to do.' He folded up his papers and walked out of the room. Another characteristic of Wilbur: he had in his office only one chair, which he occupied. A visitor would ask his question to which Wilbur responded at times without even looking up."

- Frank Aydelotte presided over and reformed Swarthmore College from 1921 to 1940. As recollected by John Nason and James Perkins, both of whom served with him, Aydelotte had a firm schedule: He spent an hour each morning on phone calls and correspondence, and then one hour seeing staff members. He went home for lunch, often with a visitor, returning to the office at two o'clock for two hours to handle his non-college business, including the Rhodes Trust and the Guggenheim Foundation among other responsibilities. Aydelotte then was taken by his chauffeur to play golf. He had a drink and then dinner with his wife. He and his wife entertained extensively and after dinner he would frequently have in for a talk a faculty member, or a trustee, or a local notable. He relied heavily on an excellent secretary and a very competent vice president of business and finance. Aydelotte spent each summer in England and took a month's vacation in Florida each winter. He greeted students when they arrived as freshmen and said goodbye at commencement when they left as seniors, and saw students on only a few public occasions in between. He personally recruited all faculty members and dealt with them one at a time.

- J. Paul Leonard was president of San Franciso State College from 1945 to 1957. Clark Kerr reported his interview with Leonard to the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, in part as follows:[10]

> When I interviewed him, I thought back to what he had told me some 32 years ago—that he had the best

single job in all of American higher education. He had started out with a campus with 700 students and 70 faculty members. He had no board of trustees; at that time the state colleges reported to the State Board of Education which paid almost no attention to them. The state board was concerned with primary and secondary education; and consequently, he almost never saw the board. He made a perfunctory presentation to them perhaps once a year. He had to give no attention to the board because they gave little or no thought to his college.

He had no organized alumni to worry about. Until the time he became president, the institution had been entirely a commuter college for prospective teachers so he did not have to worry about what the alumni thought. There was no organized student body and no students ready to take over the institution. He had no organized faculty. At that time there was no faculty senate; there was no union. Now there are both.

He had significant control of academic life. He hired all members of the faculty personally. Once a year he would make a tour to the East to visit eight graduate deans whom he knew, in eight universities. He would send ahead a list of positions he wanted to fill and ask them to provide names of candidates. He was seeking young doctoral graduates. When he got these lists he would talk with the chairs of the academic divisions involved on his campus, but if he had to make a decision about an appointment while on his trip he would hire on the spot.

He reviewed and acted on all promotions or retention for tenure after he had received recommendations from his division chairs and from a faculty promotion and tenure committee, but his decision was final.

He was the leader in general curriculum development. He put into effect a curriculum for general education of which he was very proud and which obtained national recognition. He enlisted the support of the division chairs and large support from the faculty who supplied the institutional content for the program. Everybody worked on it and there was very little opposition. The rest of the curriculum was built around the majors which the college chose to offer.

After much opposition from the real estate interests of San Francisco, he built and moved the college to an entirely new campus. When he left there were 11,500 students and 700 faculty members. Since most of the original 70 had retired during his 12 years, he had personally hired almost every full-time faculty member on the cam-

pus. He had changed that college from a largely teacher's college to a comprehensive college with a variety of vocational fields and offering a graduate degree. He was one of the prominent citizens of his community. His wife was truly the "first lady" of the campus. In those days, faculty wives did not work, and they were all eager to attend her teas and other activities, to participate in whatever campus program she wanted help with. She, too, was a leader, not only on campus but in the community.

He played the central academic role on the campus with the faculty and with the curriculum. He did all of this with a moderate work load. He would only go out two evenings a week to community events (not campus events), and he almost never worked on the weekends. He told me how much time it saved him by not being required to consult with many groups before taking action. He attributes much of his success to being able to work with those who shared his dreams and being free to make his own decisions within the frame of broad policies. But he also attributes his success to his loyal group of faculty and administrators who helped him make the right decisions and who never wanted him to procrastinate.

- Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the University of California from 1899 to 1919, rode a white horse around campus stopping on his rounds to listen to the problems of faculty members or students and rendering his advice or decision from horseback. He once was introduced to the Kaiser in Germany with the statement that "he comes from a monarchy within a republic to a republic [the German university] within a monarchy."[11]

- Ivan C. Crookshanks was superintendent/president of the College of the Sequoias Community College District in California from 1949, when it first separated from the secondary school district and became a Junior College District, until 1984, when he retired leaving a legacy of benevolent rule and a trail of former associates across the state in important community college positions.

At age 33, he signed a one-page contract providing that he would "act as Superintendent for the District and be responsible for the general administration and supervision of the school as well as Business Manager."[12]

Crookshanks presided over the building of the campus and sometimes "felt like I was the building superintendent." When he did not show up on a construction site for a couple of days, the

contractor began inquiring if he were sick. He supervised the landscaping, construction of the parking lots, and personally selected and directed the planting of the rose bushes that grace the campus—"the campus was like my home." He started the agricultural school whose cows, he is proud to point out, give milk with the highest butterfat content of any herd in the state.

Crookshanks got good support from the community where he still lives along with all four of his children and his grandchildren. People gave him suggestions about how to run the college when he attended the Rotary Club or Elks: "You get a lot of feedback sitting around a bar."

On a typical day in the early years, he would arrive on campus no later than 8 a.m. and spend some time standing around the faculty mail boxes, engaging in casual meetings and visiting with faculty as they came and went. Then he dealt with his own mail. There was always a mid-morning break when he joined faculty over coffee and doughnuts. Sometimes he would stop in the cafeteria earlier in the morning when the classified employees who tended to congregate there were on their break.

After dealing with phone messages, people who simply had to see the president, and the usual emergencies, he would walk the campus, talking to faculty, staff, and students. He was "vitally interested in athletics," and normally showed up to watch football practice in the afternoon. He was home by around 4 p.m., but several evenings a week were spent out in the surrounding communities, talking to PTA, service clubs, and school boards in an effort to get nearby high school districts to join the community college district.

He worked just as long and hard in later years as in the beginning, but, in the beginning "it was a lot more productive. I didn't have to mess around with multiple committee meetings." With the board behind him, he personally hired—and fired—the faculty. He would go down to Los Angeles and hire five or six new faculty in a day. "Now, you spend five or six weeks discussing which one to hire, and you still don't have an answer. It's very frustrating. It used to be that an administrator administered. I had the authority, not just the title."

He successfully fought off faculty unionization for many years, telling a faculty union representative in 1963 that union affiliation was "a big mistake. I have lived here all my life. . .The people here have an anti-union bias. . .I hate to think about what might

happen next year. The board doesn't know about the union yet, and I know they won't like it. The probationary teachers are taking a big chance. . ."

As it turned out, they were taking a big chance, and they lost. On the recommendation of the administration, the non-tenured temporary president of the new union was fired by the board on the grounds that enrollment was expected to drop in the fall and that he would not be needed. "Economy reasons" dictated the union leader's ouster the same year other faculty received pay hikes, and the president's salary was increased by $2,400. And in the fall, the local paper ran the headline, "High Student Sign-up Fools COS Officials"; enrollment had increased by 186 students. One bitter observer said, "Ivan Crookshanks, the emperor of the Sequoias, reigns supreme. Unchecked. Unchallenged. Undemocratic."[12]

Yet when asked what he left behind to show for his years, Crookshanks answers, "A high esprit de corps, both among the faculty and classified staff. I tried to make them feel equal. . .We had a family unit." By and large, he did.

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The point of these vignettes is that times have changed; not that the old times either could or should return. Such a return to the past is neither possible nor wise.

Abraham Lincoln in his Second Inaugural Message to Congress said: "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history."

Chapter Notes

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External Environments

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The past 40 years (1945–1985) have seen great changes in the college environment as set by developments in the external society. These changes have resulted, in totality, in lessened freedom of action within higher education. The changes are not the result of any one action by any one agency at any one time but the accumulation of many threads woven by many hands, each thread tiny in itself, that have lessened the mobility of higher education, like Gulliver at the hands of the Lilliputians: "I attempted to rise but was not able to stir." A president tied down by Lilliputians becomes more like a Lilliputian himself.

This tying of threads has come in two great waves. The first began after World War II with greater federal involvement in research, then in student aid, then in affirmative action; and with vastly increased state support. The second wave began in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the student revolts, with the Vietnam War, and with Watergate—events that eroded trust within the American system and energized special interest groups inside and outside of academe. The first wave brought more controls by government; the second brought more constraints imposed by group actions and by individual attitudes in the private sector.

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External regulation. Over a long period of time, there has been an increase in public regulation of enterprises of all sorts. This has occurred, in part, because of the many, and increasingly severe, external consequences of internal decisions by institutions. Higher education, historically largely autonomous, has been less and less excluded from this development; once a sector apart, like the churches, it has become a more integral part of society. Over

time, higher education has drawn more of its resources from the public purse. Additionally, admissions requirements have come to affect millions of potential students, not just a small elite; and there has been a revolution of rising "rights," including the "right" to a higher education. Both developments have brought more public involvement in the once much more private lives of higher education institutions.

At the federal level, increasing controls have followed the rising flow of money but also the flow of policies to protect individual and group rights. The federal government has taken an active interest in access, not only for students but also for potential faculty members drawn from minority groups and from the ranks of women. The states, in their advancing regulatory efforts, have mostly reflected financial concerns. They have become more intrusive into both the making of budgets and the expenditure of appropriations; and staffs of state agencies, including legislative, have become both larger and more competent.[1] Forty-nine states (all but Michigan) now have some form of statewide coordination, at least for public higher education, while 40 years ago there was only one (New York).

The courts have accepted many more cases for decision where once they would have relied upon internal processes.

Public regulation has increasingly replaced institutional choice.

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Less confidence in leadership. The confidence of Americans in the "people running" major institutions dropped dramatically after the middle 1960s. In 1966, the percentage of Americans having a "great deal of confidence" in the leaders of 10 important types of institutions stood at 48 and in 1980 at only 23. In both years, the percentage for education (including but not limited to higher education) was higher than the average figure for all institutions surveyed—61 to 48 in 1966, and 39 to 23 in 1980. Medicine stood first in both years; the military was third in 1966 but tied for second with education in 1980.[2] Comparatively high standings, however, are small consolation to leaders in education when their own confidence index has fallen so far.

This reduced confidence in leadership has had several important repercussions. Acceptance of authority has gone down as a consequence and probably more so on campus than in most other institutions. "Question authority" is a common bumper

sticker in Berkeley. Checks on authority have gone up. One way to look at the reduced acceptance of authority is to see it as a new form of egalitarianism, as a means of trying to diminish differences among people—among rich and poor, men and women, faculty and students, supervisors and supervised.

"Participatory democracy" was one great theme of the student revolts in the late 1960s and it led to more groups forming, more groups demanding they be consulted, and more groups demanding a veto on anything they did not like. As a matter of practice, by the 1980s, many college and university presidents had come to accept vetoes (often following the practice of their predecessors in the late '60s and early '70s who gave up authority in an attempt to keep the peace) or at least to strive very hard to avoid attempted vetoes. One university president said he had to be cleared through 12 "veto gates" when he attempted any change of substantial significance. Each group, as a consequence, is less likely to lose what it has, but also, on the other side of the coin, is less likely to get what it may want that is new.

Many news media, after Vietnam and Watergate, have put more emphasis upon investigative functions and not least among these media are campus newspapers. The red hot suns of the media illuminate, however, only a small part of the landscape—the occasional peaks of problems rather than the broad valleys of accomplishments in between.

There is much less acceptance of authority. There is much less trust among individuals and groups.

Chester I. Barnard once concluded: "Leaders, I think, are made quite as much by conditions and by organizations and followers as by any qualities and propensities which they themselves have."[3] The characteristics of followers on campus have changed along with "conditions." There are no presidential heroes any longer for most students; even fewer for faculty members; and only long-gone heroes for alumni. Campus followers are more critical in general and more divided among themselves. Loyal followers, to the extent that they exist, are more likely to be found in less elite than in more elite institutions, and in professional fields rather than in the humanities and social sciences. However, it is almost an anachronism to speak of "followers" today in an academic setting. Barnard also noted that executives were given considerable latitude in what he called zones of "indifference" where nobody cares very much what happens. There are now very few such zones.

Sunshine laws. Sunshine laws, requiring that meetings and records of public agencies be open to the public and to the news media, have had a drastic impact on many institutions of higher education, particularly when they apply to presidential search and presidential evaluation.[4] Where a presidential search is under sunshine procedures, many persons will refuse to be considered for the position on the grounds that it will weaken their effectiveness in the position now held, or they will withdraw their names late in the process unless they can be assured they will be chosen. Along the way, special campus groups will seek to get candidates committed in advance to certain actions if they are appointed. Also, if it becomes clear that the person selected was not the first choice, the effectiveness of the individual is reduced from the start. Where a presidential evaluation is under sunshine procedures, dissident groups and individuals are invited to air their grievances openly and all at once, thus making relations more difficult in the future. Presidents are encouraged to avoid unpopular decisions in advance of evaluation. Potential candidates for the presidency are made more reluctant to take an interest in such a position. Many current presidents say they would never allow their names to be considered for positions where laws or policies provide for sunshine searches or reviews or both.

The most severe state laws require that even discussions related to a person's character or reputation must be conducted in the open, such as in Florida and Tennessee. Less severe state laws require that the appointment of individuals, nominally at least, must take place in the open, such as in Alabama, Alaska, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Utah.[5]

Even where these two sunshine provisions are not included, presidents report that the requirement of open discussion of nonpersonnel matters makes it difficult for them to place anticipated problems in front of the board informally before the time for a formal recommendation and for action. It is thus harder to keep the board properly informed and to get preliminary views from board members. Presidents also report that, in sunshine states, board members at meetings tend to turn to face the press while in nonsunshine states they face the chairperson and the president—that in sunshine states board members are more likely to speak for the public record than to the long-run welfare of the institution.

We ran across a number of unfortunate cases including, for illustrative purposes, the following:

- The president who told his board he planned to enter a sunshine search. The board said there was no point in his coming back because his effectiveness would have been too greatly impaired. They treated his entry into the search as a resignation; and they "wished me well."

- A president who was not warned that his name would be made public and, when it was, withdrew it. Back home, where he had been a successful president for 10 years, the reaction was so negative that he quickly resigned a position he greatly valued. He became unemployed.

- The president who was not told that his name was being used, for public relations reasons, to demonstrate that a bona fide nationwide search was being conducted when, in fact, a decision already had been made through the "old-boy" network. His position at home was weakened, and his potential attractiveness to other institutions reduced, since he appeared to have been publicly rejected once. The headlines read: "_____ rejected by _____."

- The search firm that was asked to come up with three names—one "good" name, one of a woman, and one of a minority person; each name to be made public. The two persons with the "not-so-good" names accepted this because of the "honor" involved.

- The evaluation procedure where the committee in charge listened publicly to personal criticisms, including criticisms of the president's wife, then read out its conclusions with TV cameras focused on every facial expression of the president, undergoing what he called a "public execution," including the sweat dripping off his chin.

- The evaluation procedure where all campus groups were asked, during the course of an entire semester, to comment upon the conduct of the president. These comments, and rumored comments, became the major source of campus conversation, in what was experienced by the president as "living

murder." Another said, "It gave the sharks a chance to attack all at once."

Quite frequently, in fact, sunshine searches and evaluations have become exercises in public humiliation. One president said that, as the process developed, he went from being a "prospect" to agreeing to be a "formal applicant" and then, once his name was made public, to becoming a "beggar" who had to get the job regardless of conditions. One female president said she felt like a "street walker under a lamp post as the cars drove by"; but she got the job.

At the same time, several female presidents said they believed the openness of the sunshine process generated pressures that helped to get them appointed. The overwhelming majority of presidents, however, would agree that "there is now a need to develop an understanding of *group privacy*—the 'right to huddle' " (Edward J. Bloustein);[6] and, also, of the individual's right to privacy.

The United States has become a society marked by high participation and much information, and by low authority. This is, on balance, mostly for the good of society; but not necessarily good for all of its leaders including those within higher education.

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Demographic depression. The demographic depression for higher education, resulting from the sharp decline in births beginning in the middle 1960s, will add new constraints in the latter 1980s as the size of the college-age youth cohort goes down by nearly one-quarter from peak to trough. Growth created possibilities for new endeavors and unequal expansion of old endeavors, and thus for change and improvement without any subtractions. In the period of growth, of course, new institutions had unusual opportunities for adaptation to new circumstances and for innovation.

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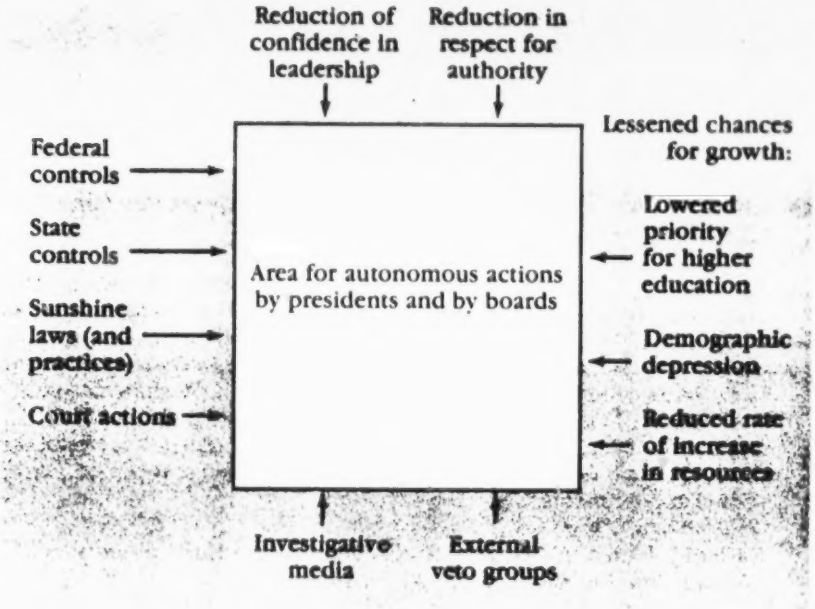
Resource restraints. The drastically reduced rate of productivity growth, from 3 percent (1945 to 1965) to 1.5 percent (1965 to 1975) to 0.5 percent (1975 to 1985), also has made it more difficult for higher education to get the resources to expand and to change.

Overall, the opportunities for a free course of action by institutions and by their presidents have been greatly reduced. (See Figure 8-1.)

Figure 8–1. **Schematic view of the reduced opportunities, due to external developments, for autonomous actions by presidents and by boards**



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Chapter Notes

1. The amount of new state legislation dealing with two-year colleges increased 75 percent between 1980 and 1982. S.V. Martorana and Patricia C. Corbett, *State Legislation Affecting Community, Junior, and Two-Year Technical Colleges, 1982*, Report No. 39 (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, Center for the Study of Higher Education, June 1983), i.

2. Seymour Martin Lipset and William Schneider, *The Confidence Gap* (New York: Free Press, 1983), 48, 49.

3. Chester I. Barnard, *Organization and Management: Selected Papers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 92.

4. For a case study, see Judith Block McLaughlin and David Riesman, "The Shady Side of Sunshine," *Teachers College Record* 87, no. 4 (Summer 1986).

5. The states listed are taken from Harlan Cleveland, *The Costs and Benefits of Openness: Sunshine Laws and Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 1985), 37 Oregon has been added to the second list because representatives of the press, although not the public, are admitted to closed sessions on personnel appointments.

6. Edward J. Bloustein, "Group Privacy: The Right to Huddle," *Rutgers-Camden Law Journal* 8, no. 2 (Winter 1977): 220.

Internal Environments

9

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Student impacts. The biggest single shock to presidencies came from the student revolts of the second half of the 1960s. It was found that students (and their faculty allies) could depose presidents and quite easily; that presidents were "paper tigers" with little real power; that "the emperor has no clothes" as the child pointed out in the Hans Christian Andersen tale. Not only did presidents fall but so did course requirements for general education, standards for grades, and *in loco parentis* rules.

There were two different eras in quick succession with a sharp concussion in between: the before-the-revolts era and the after-the-revolts era. Presidential life has never been the same since. Presidents, among other things, lost moral stature vis-a-vis some students and faculty members. Activist student leaders wanted presidents to be instruments of "virtue," in the words of Cohen and March, and to "take action expressing their values." But few presidents wanted to be or could be the "autonomous moral leader."[1] The campus also lost moral authority in some quarters. Affirmative action, for example, was forced upon it and not undertaken of its own accord. The campus came to look, to many, as a center of immorality.

A second, but much more gradual and less dramatic, impact also came from the students, and this has been the rising influence of the student market.[2] With fewer students in prospect and more freedom for students to choose among institutions (due to vastly increased student financial aid), and more freedom to choose among courses because of reduced course requirements, the student market has come to dominate in most institutions what once was called "academic policy"; to dominate the rise and fall

of campuses, of disciplinary and professional fields, and even of individual professors.

Gross and Grambsch, in their 1974 study for the Carnegie Commission, found that it was particularly students, but also faculties and legislators, who gained in power from 1964 to 1971.[3]

Faculty influence. The biggest single long-run impact on presidencies, however, has come from the faculty. Instead of one faculty directly under the president, as was common until the Civil War, there came to be several, or even many, with the rise of departments and professional schools with their chairs and their deans. Departments and professional schools increasingly have asserted control over the requirements for the major and over individual courses, and influence over faculty appointments and promotions—"the professors," as Jencks and Riesman observed, "won the war,"[4] but sometimes only to lose it to the student market.

Two more recent changes of importance have been: the rise of the power of the provost and the introduction of unions.

The provostship has increased in influence, partly by default and partly by intent. The default has been that of the president who has been drawn more into external affairs, or who has preferred concentration on external affairs, or both. Boards and presidents often have delegated, in theory or in practice or both, most or even all academic authority to the faculty—authority over the curriculum, over research, over grades and student disciplines, over selection and promotion of faculty members, and over teaching loads. The intent has been that of the faculty who have wanted their own officer-in-charge, whom they could largely select and over whose conduct in office they had substantial influence; and that of provosts themselves with their own agendas and desires for recognition as a force in their own right. But the intent occasionally has been that of the president. One president said: "I deliberately built a structure to distance myself from academic decision making. I could have no positive impact. I could only get myself into trouble."

Some provosts choose, or are required, to get along well with the president as well as with the faculty, and many do; but increasingly their primary reference group is the faculty. Some provosts frankly say they are the "advocate" of the faculty and the president is their joint "adversary." Some provosts defend their

territory fiercely—the president should "know his place" and it clearly is not thought to be in the academic area.

Unionization always comes in initially as a counterforce. In the organizing period, unions of necessity look for and advance grievances, resentments, and fears. Thus, they run essentially against the administration and never for it. They may continue this confrontational approach after recognition, and this approach has an especially large impact on the presidency when unions—going around the president—establish direct contact with the board and, particularly, when unions have representation on the board and occasionally are in control of the board. At the other extreme, unions become partners in administration seeking good policies and the resolution of individual conflicts. More likely, however, unions become a second bureaucracy extending the empire of rules and helping to administer those rules; until there are, as one president said, "wall-to-wall rules that cover everything."

The first approach of unions (confrontational) places the president in eternal conflict. The second (cooperative) can help the president solve problems and improve programs. The third (bureaucratic) works two ways; it takes away decision-making power from the president but it also eases his or her tasks—the contract on its face makes many decisions the president otherwise would make, and other decisions are made through the grievance machinery, including arbitration, again reducing burdens on the administration.

We found that presidents with unions mostly either like them or hate them; about half and half—very few currently are neutral. Some hate confrontation and the loss of decision-making power; others like the cooperation or the reduction in their decision-making responsibilities. But a few are neutral and they are growing in number—unions are just another pressure group that comes with the territory. An additional group, as yet very small, is composed of "union-made" presidents who rose to office with union support.

It should be noted that, to a certain degree, presidents and boards get the kind of union they deserve or, more likely, that their predecessors deserved.

Faculties, throughout history, have had a tendency to view administrators with some skepticism, or suspicion, or even antagonism. Administrators must earn and keep earning acceptance. But moods vary from time to time. Some faculty members responded favorably to student protests against administrators in the late 1960s, but those protests are now part of history. However, a substantial

number of faculty members are themselves alumni of student protests; and some time bombs are lying around as a consequence. It was former Stalinists and Trotskyites and left-socialists from the 1930s among faculties who mostly rose up with the students in the 1960s; and the "movement" alumni may potentially do the same at some time in the future. In one extreme case today, a California state college founded in the early 1960s has a faculty that comes about one-third out of the counterculture of the early 1960s, about one-third out of the student political protests of the late 1960s, and about one-third out of the new technostructure; and the environment for the administrators has been greatly affected.

Current faculty moods across the country are pulled in at least two different directions: anti-administration where real salaries have gone down and where retrenchments in faculty ranks have taken place; and pro-administration elsewhere because with lessened mobility there are more faculty members of the "home guard" type who identify with the institution and its leadership.

Whether unionized or not, faculties can make the position of a president uncomfortable. Several new presidents, in institutions where excessive promises were made in the course of enrollment expansion and attendant recruitment of new faculty members in the 1960s and 1970s, have been greeted with demands that these promises be met; for example, starting with an immediate 20 percent increase in salaries so the institution could be "the Harvard" of the middle section of its state as earlier promised.

The situation tends to be much better in elite institutions where few, if any, faculty members envy the role of the president; and to be much worse where administration is one of the few ways out of drudgery, and where many faculty envy the president and a few view themselves as possible replacements. It can be particularly bad in those institutions where faculty members came as their last employment chance and where they live in a graveyard of sadly disappointed hopes. This includes some state colleges where faculty members who trained for, and would be much happier in, research universities, take out their frustrations by demanding that the president singlehandedly create another Berkeley.

One overall positive result, and the most important one of all, of the advance in faculty power and influence is that faculty members with greater participation in decision making are "more seriously involved citizens of the university."[5]

Another overall result, nearly as important, is that the

president is less involved in the institution's academic life. Only about 20 percent of presidents are now significantly involved in all of the following eight aspects of academic life, and not over two percent (included within the 20 percent) play a central role in each of these areas:

- Personal concern for and participation in the selection of the provost and deans and department chairs, not just turning these obligations over to one committee or another.
- Personal concern for each appointment to and promotion to tenure.
- Personal concern for the development of an academic plan including a statement of mission, and insistence that the academic plan guide the physical plan and the financial plan, and not the other way around.
- Personal concern for what is happening in the world of knowledge—developing some sense, through reading and talking with people, about where the intellectual world is going, about where the new developments are that have the greatest opportunities for research and instruction, and about which areas are moribund.
- Personal concern for the distribution and redistribution of resources reflecting the directions in which the world of knowledge and the world of work seem to be moving.
- Personal concern for the undergraduate curriculum and particularly for general education.
- Personal concern for teaching, expressed, among other ways, by actually teaching a course or seminar, or participating, from time to time, in the courses or seminars of others.
- Personal concern for understanding the academic needs on campus and presenting them effectively off campus, and for creating broad support on campus and off for advancing learning skills and for liberal learning.[6]

Nearly all presidents show personal concern for one or more of these areas. Nearly none, only the two percent, nevertheless, meet the criterion of Harold W. Dodds that 50 percent of a president's time should be spent on academic affairs, what he called

"the 50 percent rule."[7] He believed that "educational leadership [is] the president's prime function."[8] Actual involvement, of course, varies by type of institution, being highest in the elite liberal arts colleges and the private research universities.

Others have found what we found. Cohen and March concluded that while presidents are educators "by identification," they are not "by behavior."[9] And Benezet, Katz and Magnusson discovered most presidents delegate the "role of educator."[10]

This has all been a long time coming. Laurence R. Veysey notes that, already by 1890, the president was becoming more a manager and less an educational leader.[11] Harold Stoke, in *The American College Presidency* (1959), noted that the president was shifting emphasis from being an academic leader to becoming a manager, from being a "Man of Learning" to being a "Man of Management," and he regretted the "decline. . .of the influence of college presidents upon the more purely intellectual life of their institutions."[12] And Robert Hutchins believed that: "The only kind of man who can cheerfully administer a large university is one who is not interested in education. A man who is interested will find himself constantly frustrated."[13]

There are some costs. The president has a better opportunity than most to look broadly at the institution. He or she, also, cannot represent it best to outside groups such as alumni and legislators unless fully familiar with its central purposes. And, in a period of scarce resources, the president cannot assign them most effectively without knowing how they are mostly used and best employed.

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Board influence. Boards too have changed and are changing. Few boards now merely receive and ratify reports and give advice. Fewer all the time now restrict themselves only to policy, and these few mostly in private institutions and in elite public ones. More boards now are more managerial. Court cases and financial problems quickly draw them into management, and boards constituted with representatives of special interest groups, either by appointment or election, are heavily inclined in this direction in any event.

Elected boards, in particular, tend to seek to represent the people who elected them. Elected members also tend to have a special sense of control over the president, empowered, as they

are, directly by the people—the president serves the people by serving the board. Fifty percent of community college boards are elected; and many such boards, whether elected or appointed, meet once a week or at least twice a month giving them an opportunity for detailed participation in management. Also, all board members are "locals" and can hardly walk down the street without hearing something about the college.

Many campuses are now parts of systems and the campus president and board (if any) operate within a larger frame of influence. In these situations, the president is less the single public representative of the total institution and more a participant within a chain of command, as within a corporate conglomerate.

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Staff influence. The president in the more complex settings of recent times runs out of both time and skills. He or she cannot personally handle most transactions for lack of time, and some transactions require skills that cannot reasonably be developed in their entirety by any single person. Thus, of necessity, staff members carve their way into decision-making territory once owned by the president. The average size of campuses has doubled in public institutions since 1960 and increased by one-third in private. Bureaucracy has gained. More of what a president does now is handled secondhand, via paper, and less firsthand in personal conduct.

As John Kenneth Galbraith has noted more broadly, "There is proof of this internal diffusion of power when the top command changes in the great organization. Rarely in the modern business enterprise and not usually in the public agency is it expected that policy and action will much change as a result. It is accepted in practice, as distinct from the economic and political liturgy, that in great organizations power is exercised from within the management and not by the transitory figure at the top."[14]

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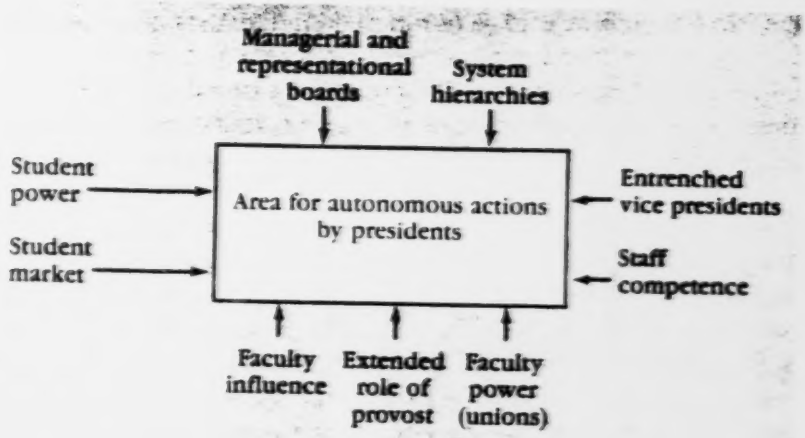
Empowered potential opposition. The really fatal potential enemies of a president, if there are enemies, are the chairperson of the board, or the leader of the faculty, or the head of the alumni association, or an entrenched and very influential vice president, or the governor; and all have gained in power in recent times. They

alone are the nascent matadors. All others can aspire only to be picadors. This list of potential matadors also includes those who can be the most helpful friends.

The diminished presidency. It should be noted that the forces that increasingly have confined presidencies have usually liberated someone else—students or faculty members or members of minority groups or members of other special groups. What looks "bad" from the point of view of the presidency nearly always looks "good" from some other point of view. The fact remains, however, that within the new contexts, the presidency in most institutions has been diminished. We concur with the central finding of the earlier study by Benezet, Katz, and Magnusson that "presidential power seems to be dissipating" and that the presidency has been "downgraded."[15] (See Figure 9-1.)

Figure 9–1. **Schematic view of the reduced opportunities, due to internal developments, for autonomous actions by presidents and by boards**



The spouse. The spouse was once a known quantity. That quantity was the minister's wife. In fact, most early presidents were ministers. The minister's wife kept house, was responsible for social affairs, helped with the personal side of the ministry as, for example, in visiting the sick, and was the minister's only confidant and source of psychological support.[16] These are also the traditional

roles played by the president's wife. Another and later model, as one observer said, came to be the "southern belle—who knows her place."

But all this has changed or is changing. Many forces have been at work. Public community colleges are a relatively new phenomenon, and public nonresidential comprehensive colleges and universities in urban areas are far more important than in earlier times. In neither type of institution has the role of the spouse been as important as in the private, residential liberal arts colleges and in the research universities that once dominated the higher education scene. Also, there are more professional jobs open to women (30–40 percent of female spouses of presidents in four-year colleges have paid jobs of their own; in two-year colleges, perhaps 60–70 percent); the feminist movement on campus rejects the role of the traditional spouse as being of no importance or perhaps not even acceptable; and public attitudes grant a more independent role for the spouse.[17]

Situations now vary considerably:

- The full-time (40 hours a week or more) traditional spouse—about 20 percent of all institutions.
- The part-time (20 to 40 hours a week) traditional spouse—about 25 percent.
- The on-occasion traditional spouse who participates in some short, and now often negotiated, list of activities—about 5 percent.
- The "free-choice" spouse—about 20 percent.
- The totally nonactive spouse—about 15 percent.
- No spouse—about 10 percent.
- "The partner" spouse—about 5 percent.

The first two types of situations are declining; and the others are all growing—the "free-choice" group most rapidly of all. By "free choice" is meant those situations where the spouse can and does decide what events to participate in without any sense of commitment to the institution to do this or that. Most of the male spouses (about 3 percent of all spouses) fall into this category with the rest being "nonactive," with the exception of at least one "full-time" spouse who, among other things, sits under a tree and acts as the campus ombudsman listening to all suggestions and grievances.

The "partner" category is the newest. The "partner" sometimes has a title and an office on campus and may be paid. Duties include official responsibilities for giving speeches to alumni and

parents and others, or for participating in fund raising, or for managing media programs or art exhibits, or for serving as representative to community groups. The "partner" ranges beyond the historic confines that defined the role of the minister's wife, into "substance."

Nonactive spouses are most likely to be found in community colleges; the "partners" in land-grant universities. More is expected of the spouse in the South and Midwest, in small towns, in residential colleges, in evangelical colleges; and less is expected in the Northeast and West Coast, in big cities, in nonresidential institutions, and in nonreligious institutions.

The role of president's spouse is full of tensions. Board members and people in the local community often expect more than the modern spouse is willing to give. Young faculty wives frequently are unwilling to help with, or even go to, social affairs on campus, or to give voluntary help on campus projects such as helping foreign students. Feminists on the faculty and on the staff may disparage the active spouse as doing for nothing things that should not be done at all.

Presidents now often miss even the psychological help of their spouses —some spouses will not even listen to their sorrows: "I will not let him dump on me" or "She can cry on her own time"; and some presidents turn instead to alcohol, or to their secretaries, or to their mistresses, or to their psychiatrists. Many presidents now have the least psychological support when they need it the most. The presidency was once a 2.0 FTE (full-time equivalent) job. It now often has become a 1.5 or 1.0 job, or even 0.9 when the spouse who has his or her own job makes net demands on the president.

The most tension, however, is in the spouses themselves:

- They are seldom paid; they are seldom even thanked for their efforts. One spouse, very active and exceedingly effective, wrote a paper entitled, "One for the money but *two* for the show."[18]
- They may have to live in "Old Monstrosity" and share it with visitors and as a meeting place for campus groups, while the president has his office in a newly renovated "Old Main." One spouse was told that only the upstairs belonged to her and even then privacy is not guaranteed. One president overheard guests, who had wandered upstairs from a reception, inspecting the family bathroom's medicine cabinet

to see if the president took drugs. Another spouse found guests looking through her clothes closet.

- They often have insufficient household and secretarial help. One said that when she wrote her memoirs she would call them "Fifteen Years as a Barmaid." Another said: "I bake every pie, shake every hand, listen to every speech."

- They must not only supply their time free but sometimes also their own china and silver and linen. Personal possessions sometimes disappear as souvenirs into the purses or pockets of guests, especially in public institutions, where people steal spoons or napkins as they might ashtrays or towels from a hotel, assuming them to be public property. One spouse calculated that she was the second largest donor to the college—and she had to give a dinner each year for the largest donor!

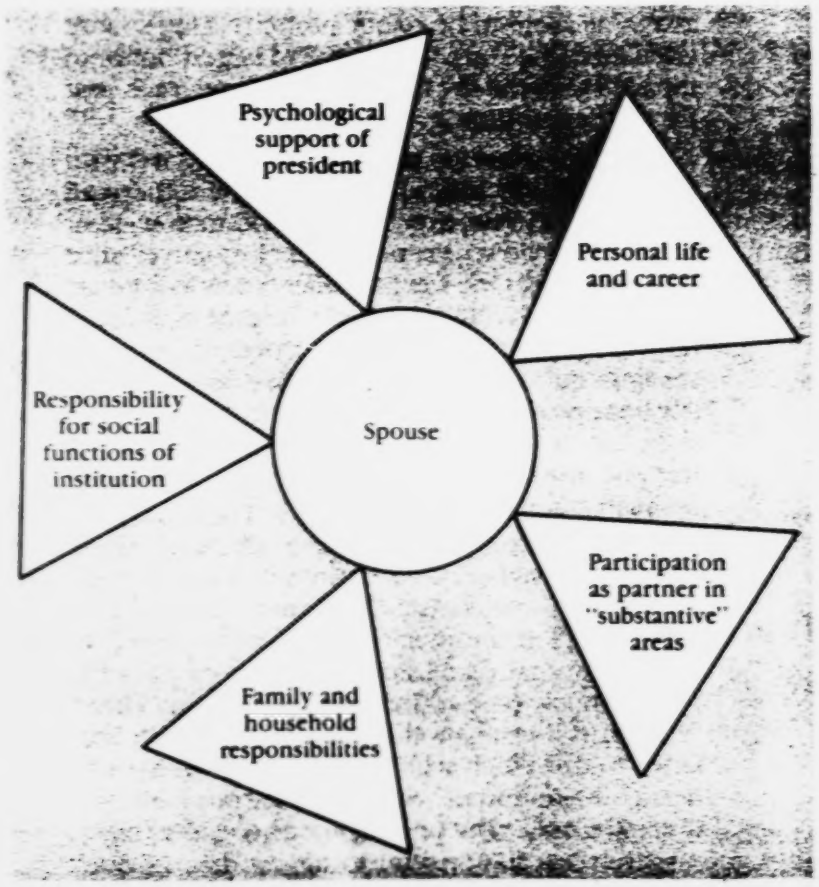
- They often are not given funds to travel with the president to official meetings, where they can meet with and share experiences and learn from other spouses. They often are put under close surveillance and strict rules. One was put under orders to reinstate an old policy that all women entering the president's house as guests must wear white gloves; another that she must quit attending a seminar in a nearby university because she had to be available in case someone at the college or in town became suddenly ill; another that she must get a face-lift.

- They lose their anonymity. They run a red light, and it is on the radio and in the local paper; and not for anyone else, even the mayor's wife, is this done—"I became the talk of the town." The children also lose their anonymity—they are expected to behave unusually well, and sometimes they react to the contrary. One older child said to his father, "Please do not take another presidency until my little sister is out of high school." On the fourth day of a faculty strike during which another president was home for only brief periods and then late at night, his five-year-old son said to his mother, "I don't remember what Daddy looks like."

- Several worried, as one noted, "The crowd I'm forced to run with, I can't afford to run with."

While the president usually moves gradually into administration and gets training along the way, the spouse is suddenly confronted with a totally new way of life: "I find myself questioning all of my personal space—my academic pursuits, my relationship with my husband and six-year-old daughter, my health, friendships, financial status, social obligations, and values."[19] Spouses new to their assignments must all of a sudden become "jugglers" of responsibilities to family, to campus, to community, to self, and, often as well, to a job as Corbally found in her study.[20] (See Figure 9-2.)

Figure 9–2. **The dilemmas of a spouse**


Psychological support of president
Personal life and career
Responsibility for social functions of institution
Spouse
Participation as partner in "substantive" areas
Family and household responsibilities

Even the nonactive spouse is affected in where to live, in how to behave (no gossiping!), and in how to share the president's

time at nights and on weekends with meetings and cultural and sports events. Perhaps no other position in the nation, except President of the United States, so affects the spouse in modern America.

Many changes have taken and will take place. Boards with expectations for the spouse now are inclined to make them more clear and reasonable, and to provide more adequate arrangements to help carry them out; and more boards have no expectations at all. But, also, no longer is it the spouse who always pays. But, also, no longer can it be said without equivocation, as did President Eliot of Harvard, that one of the "delights" of a presidency is "that the wife can share it and greatly help in it."[21] But one president did proudly say after one regular and several interim presidencies: "My wife never met strangers, only new friends."

The spouse relationship probably was never as easy as the Eliot letter implies. There are problems as well as delights in two-person jobs of all kinds.[22] In the modern world, however, it is the two-job married couple that now is more common; and that arrangement also has its delights and its problems including two time schedules, two sets of friends, two sets of job-related burdens to bear, and, possibly, two sources of companionship.

The most intense problems we found regarding spouses were: (1) conflicts between the expectations of trustees and alumni and others, on one hand, and spouses, on the other—the former often anticipating more than the latter any longer are willing to give; (2) conflicts between what the president needs in the way of psychological support and what some modern spouses are able and/or willing to offer; and (3) the difficulties inherent in "partnerships" in deciding how far it is wise for the spouse to enter into "substance"—this can be and sometimes is an explosive issue and one spouse said: "I am a partner until suddenly a door slams in my face."

Many presidents today must learn to adapt to the spouse moving out on them at the same time the provost is moving in on them. It is not clear that there is any net gain in these opposite movements for many presidents.

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The female president. The National Commission on Strengthening Presidential Leadership in Higher Education was much impressed with the general quality of female presidents, who now constitute almost 10 percent of all academic presidents and

their proportion is growing. They seem to be chosen more carefully than are men since the choice is relatively more unusual and subject to more justification; they must clear more "hurdles" in the selection process; and they must show more successful prior experience. And more able women may be available, comparatively, than men because more alternative executive appointments are closed to women.

In our interviews with female presidents, we found that they often viewed their situations as being different from their male counterparts. Generally, these women believe they are placed under more scrutiny when they first take their jobs and, in particular, that they must show that they can administer, that they can be "tough" without becoming an "iron lady." Also, they believe they have a harder time taking hold of the existing staff, that not only some men but also some women find it difficult to accept a woman as "boss."

Some also report they feel "excluded" from some conversations among men. Additionally, some female presidents said, "I need a wife"—to do the shopping and banking, to keep the house and perform the other "chores" that many male presidents have performed for them by their wives. On the other hand, most female presidents believe they are treated with more courtesy than are men, and that they have a built-in constituency among female board members and some alumni, students, and faculty members giving them special support and "rallying around." Overall, they say they are more readily accepted as time goes on and, "net," are not in any better or worse situation than men once they have been appointed—the big handicap still is in getting the appointment.

Observations

1. Not only the college president but also the President of the United States has lost power, has become more hemmed in (Richard E. Neustadt set "presidential weakness" as "the underlying theme" of his study, *Presidential Power*[23]), and this also is true of most other executive positions. Most administrators have fewer supportive constituencies on which they can reliably count at all times than in the past, and more inconsistent and competitive constituencies; and they encounter less loyalty, less tolerance, and more antiauthority sentiments.

Power has been pulled out of the college presidency by state and federal governments and courts and special interest groups and coordinating councils and trustees and students and

faculty and alumni and staff; but the college presidency is not alone in this experience.

2. A strange and significant corollary to this is that the presidency becomes more important to the institution as a whole as the one check and balance on power incursions against the long-run welfare of the institution, whether these incursions come from outside forces or from students or faculty or staff or even individual trustees. The presidency is less influential just at the time it is more needed to defend institutional autonomy, to manage conflict, to integrate separatist forces, to offset small group efforts at inefficiencies and exploitations, and to advance programs over attempted special interest vetoes. One of the most senior and successful of all college presidents said after nearly 30 years in office: "I do not have a tenth of the power I had when I began this job, but I need ten times as much to do it well and particularly to curb the excesses of power in the hands of others—faculty, students, trustees, alumni, the state, the federal government." He also observed that, for the nation as a whole, "the loss of educational leadership on campus and moral leadership in society has been very costly." Another long-term president said that over the decades his "cannon had become a popgun."

3. All these developments, taken together, led Joseph F. Kauffman to conclude that: "There is not much joy in being a college president today."[24]

Chapter Notes

1. Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974), 55, 56, 59.

2. See David Riesman, *On Higher Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1980), chap. 9.

3. Edward Gross and Paul V. Grambsch, *Changes in University Organization, 1964–1971* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974).

4. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1968), 15.

5. Edward Gross and Paul Grambsch, *Changes in University Organization*, 207.

6. For a further discussion of these developments, see Clark Kerr, "Liberal Learning: A Record of Presidential Neglect," *Change* 16, no. 6 (September 1984): 32–36. Especially in community colleges, fiscal and management concerns have tended to crowd out attention to academic concerns. A survey in the mid-1960s identified "Effectiveness and improvement of instruction" as the most critical community college problem. A similar survey of presidents, administrators, and others in the late 1970s ranked instructional improvement number 5, below "collective bargaining," "financial support," "applying sound principles of management," and "president-board relationships." See B. Lamar Johnson, "Critical Community College Problems Then and Now: The mid'60s and the late '70s," *Community College Frontiers* 7, no. 4 (Summer 1979): 8–14.

7. Harold W. Dodds, *The Academic President—Educator or Caretaker?* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962), 60.

8. *Ibid.*, 2.

9. Michael D. Cohen and James D. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity*, 108.

10. Louis T. Benezet, Joseph Katz, and Frances W. Magnusson, *Style and Substance* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1981), 48.

11. *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 310.

12. Harold W. Stoke, *The American College President* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 3, 124.

13. Robert Maynard Hutchins, "Introduction: Education," in *Freedom, Education, and The Fund* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), 73.

14. John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Anatomy of Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983), 184.

15. Louis T. Benezet, "Do Presidents Make a Difference?" *Educational Record* 63, no. 4 (Fall 1982): 12, 11.

16. A study of clergymen's wives in England in the early 1970s revealed tasks and roles very similar to those historically played by presidents' wives. See Janet Finch, "Devising Conventional Performances: The Case of Clergymen's Wives," *Sociological Review* 28, no. 4, New Series (November 1980): 851–870.

17. Since Marguerite Walker Corbally's pathbreaking book, *The Partners: Sharing the Life of a College President* (Danville, Ill.: Interstate, 1977), interest in the role of the spouse of the college and university president has greatly increased. In addition to overall discussions of the role, such as Corbally's, national organizations have conducted surveys of presidents' spouses. The first of these was by Roberta H. Ostar and Cathryn Ryan, *Survey of AASCU Presidential Spouses: Myths and Realities*

(Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1981), followed by Roberta H. Ostar, *Myths and Realities: 1983 Report on the AASCU Presidential Spouses* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1983).

Another major group of public universities was surveyed, and a range of spousal issues explored in essays by presidents' wives, in Joan E. Clodius and Diane Skomars Magrath, eds., *The President's Spouse: Volunteer or Volunteered* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, 1984). Most recently, the community college spouse's situation and role have been examined in George B. Vaughan, *The Community College President* (New York: American Council on Education/Macmillan Series in Higher Education, Macmillan Publishing Co., 1986; Forthcoming), chap. 7.

The special situation of male spouses of female college presidents was explored in Judith A. Brissette, "A Comparison of the Role of Male and Female Spouses of Presidents of Selected Four-year, Private Colleges" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Toledo, 1982).

In addition, a number of presidential spouses, all women so far, have written descriptions of their experiences. Among the most well-known are Muriel Beadle, *Where Has All the Ivy Gone? A Memoir of University Life* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1972), and Jean Alexander Kemeny, *It's Different at Dartmouth* (Brattleboro, Vt.: Stephen Greene Press, 1979).

18. Elizabeth D. Gee, "One for the Money, Two for the Show: The President's Spouse and the Dynamics of Authority" (presentation delivered at The 1982 National Trustee Workshop, Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, Louisville, Ky., 4–5 October 1982).

19. *Ibid.*, 2.

20. Marguerite Corbally, *The Partners*, 25.

21. Charles William Eliot to Abbott Lawrence Lowell, his successor in the presidency of Harvard, 11 January 1909, in Henry Aaron Yeomans, *Abbott Lawrence Lowell, 1856–1943* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), 91–92.

22. These jobs include ministers, military officers, doctors, corporation executives, mayors, legislators, and others. For an analysis of the problems and "delights," see Janet Finch, *Married to the Job* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983). Carolyn Enright DiBiaggio distinguishes between the "two person career" —the "dual career" in which a married couple follow independent careers —and the "duo-career" in which a spouse, in effect, "maintains two roles simultaneously—an independent professional career as well as her duties as the wife of the university president." See Carolyn Enright DiBiaggo, "Duo Careers," in Clodius and Magrath, *The President's Spouse*, 111.) Also see Hanna Papanek, "Men,

Women and Work: Reflections on the Two-Person Career," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 4 (January 1973): 852–872.

23. Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power: The Politics of Leadership from FDR to Carter* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1980), xi.

24. Joseph F. Kauffman, *At the Pleasure of the Board: The Service of the College and University President* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1980), 109.

Power and Influence

10. The President at the Center of Power—
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The President at the Center of Power—The Hierarchical Model with Administrative Authority and Personal Responsibility

10

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Just as presidents are not all alike in their choices and strategies and just as the historical periods in which they operate differ greatly, the positions they hold are also dissimilar in their locations within, and in their power and influence over, the total system of governance. There is no one model of governance in practice, and each presidency must be defined by its relationships to other elements in the decision-making process.

Traditional presidencies were, and sometimes still are, located on a vertical axis. The president on a vertical axis reports to the board above, and all other campus elements below report directly or indirectly to the president. This is the model that Thorstein Veblen set forth in extreme form: The president is "responsible to the governing board alone" and, in turn, has the "power of academic life and death over the members of his staff." These "arbitrary powers," however, are exercised in a "tangle of ambiguities."[1]

The vertical arrangement generally places the president in an absolutely key position. He or she administers with authority, authority sometimes hidden in a silken glove and sometimes displayed in one of stainless steel. To this day, the popular view of the presidency is of the person who can make decisions, subject to few checks and balances, and can expect to have them carried out; it is of the one person who is and can be held responsible.

Tales of autocratic presidents from the past have lent an aura of authority to the presidential position that lingers, even as actual power has diminished.

The great Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, during the late 19th century, is said to have acted upon the maxim, "Never retract, never explain. Get it done and let them howl."

When Charles William Eliot became president of Harvard and began the reform of medical and legal education, a professor of medicine inquired, "How is it that this Faculty has gone on for eight years, managing its affairs and doing it well. . .and now within *three or four months* it is proposed to change all our modes of carrying on the school—it seems very extraordinary, and I should like to know how it happens." Eliot replied, "I can answer Dr. _____'s question very easily. There is a new President."[2]

One of the authors knew a young American studying at the London School of Economics during the Depression years, when jobs were few and far between, who finally was offered a faculty position in a small church-related college in the Midwest. Borrowing from friends, he made the long trip and was met by the college president upon his arrival at the train station. The president looked the young man up and down and said, "I don't like the looks of you. Get back on that train." "Where shall I go?" asked the now broke and desperate economist. "I don't know. Just get back on that train," replied the autocrat of the plains. And he did.

One great problem of presidents during the student unrest in the late 1960s was that this perception of omnipotence was held by the public and by alumni and by the press and by legislators and by governors, and also (until they learned better) by the student dissidents and some of their faculty supporters who should have known better (and sometimes did but neglected to share this knowledge).

By the 1960s, this anachronistic perception caused great misapprehensions. As John J. Corson had noted earlier (1960), authority was "more limited than popularly supposed."[3] Many presidents were held personally and totally responsible for the origins of and the solutions to student problems—both of which lay far beyond their control. The vast gap between perception and reality set them up as scapegoats. They might still look like majestic lions but the best they could be were clever foxes; and many were only hedgehogs burrowing into the ground. They stood closer to impotence than to omnipotence.

The simple vertical command structure has been, and is, subject to some important variations. At one time, it was quite common, as in the University of California particularly before 1958, for more than a single person to report to the board; in this instance, specifically: the vice president of business, the comptroller, the attorney, the secretary, and the treasurer, as well as the president. Until recent times, it was also quite common for the vice president of business and finance to hold a position of great independent power, as at the University of Michigan and elsewhere as well.

Such a structure permits a governing board to play one officer off against another and in other ways to increase its own power. Some boards set up their vice presidents as, or allow them to become, alternative sources of information about institutional operations and the conduct of the president. As presidents come and go, these officers often continue, giving stability to the organization and sometimes holding the president subject to their Good Housekeeping Seals of Approval.

In more recent times, in fact if not on the printed organization chart, the vice president of external affairs (dealing with alumni, donors, governors and legislators, and the press) and the attorney (dealing with litigants, courts, and government agencies) frequently have gained opportunities for direct access, if not direct reporting, to the board. They (along with the provost, as noted earlier) are the "new men of power" on many campuses. They reflect the rise in importance of getting money, of creating a favorable image for the sake of recruiting students, of processing litigation, and of staying within laws and regulations.

Another alternative, and an increasingly common one, is to have a double axis with the president (and other officers) reporting to the board and the provost reporting to the faculty senate, in practice if not officially. This is what John Corson has called "organizational dualism."[4]

It is relatively new for the provost to be involved in a separate axis from that of the president, but there are precedents. When medical schools and law schools were more independent than they usually are now, their deans, in reality, reported to the profession—to the local medical society or the bar association. Deans of agriculture also reported, in practice, to the dominant agricultural powers however organized—the Grange, the Farm Bureau Federation, the Production Societies.

There are, of course, several possible combinations of the

above arrangements. A common one is for two or more officers to have direct access to the board, and for the provost to report to the faculty senate in a separate structure. Many struggles result: president versus board over control of the attorney or the vice president for business and finance; president versus alumni or board over control of the vice president for external affairs; and president versus faculty over control of the provost.

An additional, and altogether new arrangement, is to have two axes opposed to each other. One is the axis of the president to the board; the other is the axis leading from the faculty union directly to the board—with the variation that the union may actually control certain members of the board or even the board as a whole.

This oppositional axis arrangement is not uncommon in some community colleges, where faculties are organized into unions with confrontational postures and where the local union movement has significant impact on the appointment or election of board members. Presidents and union business agents exercise dual authority, with shifting dominance over each other. It is a Hobbesian world of eternal conflict—"of every man against every man."[5] The long-term and very successful and highly innovative president of a California community college recently withdrew, defeated in such a conflict, as the second axis became stronger than the first.

The role of the board is particularly important in the vertical model. Boards may be categorized, for our present purposes, as:

- Assenting or overseeing boards that receive and ratify reports and act only in emergencies;
- Policy or trustee boards that guide and care for the long-run overall welfare of the institution;
- Managerial or administrative boards that make detailed decisions;
- Representational or special-interest boards that advance the concerns of external or even internal factions, with board members acting as delegates.

Presidential leadership is particularly easy to establish in the first instance; but it is also required, and may be highly effective, in the second. Presidential influence and authority is more difficult, and may even be impossible, to assert in the third and particularly in the fourth. In the vertical model, in its pure form, the board and the president together constitute authority. This is the old world of authority, of personal responsibility, of the president

who listened but then acted on his own.

In the strong form, he or she first sought only his or her own opinion; in the weaker form, he or she first sought the advice of others. Either way, the president was a benevolent autocrat. In the less pure forms, noted above, the president is less central and the board more central, but the vertical flow of authority is the central characteristic. (See Figure 10-1 on the following two pages.)

Chapter Notes

1. Thorstein Veblen [1918], *The Higher Learning in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1969), 59, 61, 69.

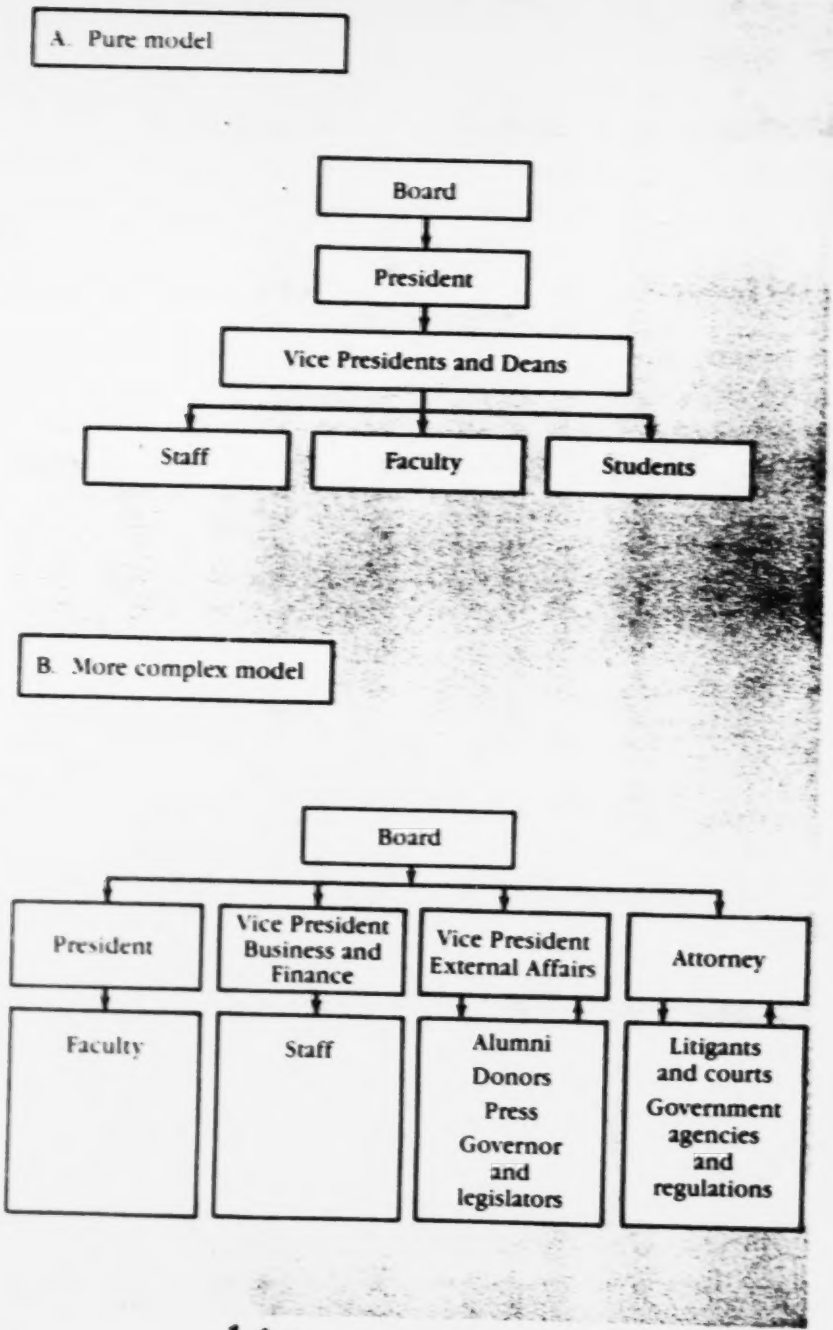
2. Henry James, *Charles W. Eliot*, vol. I (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 284.

3. John J. Corson, *Governance of Colleges and Universities* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), 70.

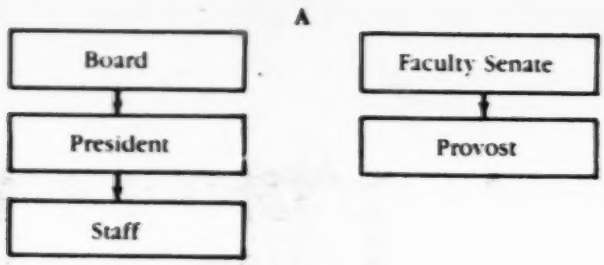
4. *Ibid.*, 43.

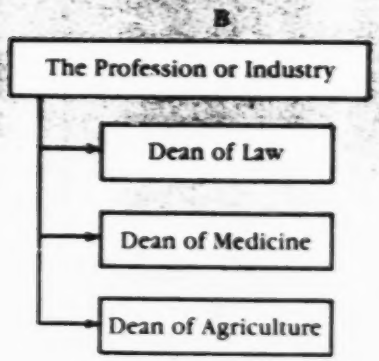
5. Thomas Hobbes [1651], *Leviathan* (Indianapolis: Liberal Arts Press, Inc., 1958), 106.

Figure 10–1. **Authority on a vertical axis**

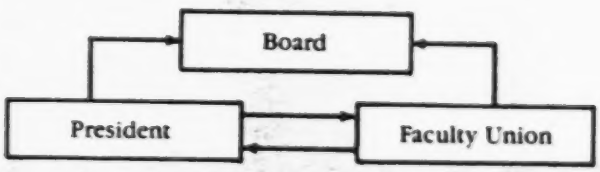


C. Double axis models





D. Opposed axes model



The President as the Center of Influence— The Collegial Consensus Model and Shared Governance

11

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Axes increasingly get turned on their sides, become horizontal. Less of an authority structure then exists. More depends on consultation, on negotiation, and on consensus. Several centers of influence exist and little happens of overall importance until they all reach agreement, except as each center carves out its own independent jurisdiction. The skills of decision-making and enforcing give way to the skills of persuasion and negotiation.

The president is still at the center of the process, however, as the chief communicator, the chief negotiator, the chief persuader, the chief mediator among other centers of influence and, more occasionally, the chief arbitrator. The president runs the major communication center and acts as the principal intermediary, the first among many equals. Decisions sometimes get made but sometimes just emerge.

This model comes in strong and weak forms. A strong form is the one set forth in *The Uses of the University*,[1] where the most essential presidential roles are set forth as "mediator," "initiator," and "gladiator." The president is in charge of maintaining a moving equilibrium. A weaker form is that described by Douglas McGregor, who once saw the president mostly as the servant of the will of the community. It was the community that initiated action, not the president, who is more concerned with equilibrium than with movement.

McGregor became famous as a leading advocate of "The Theory Y" method of management as against an authoritative "Theory X" approach.[2] "The Theory Y" approach has been prac-

ticed, for example, with great success in Japan in recent times. McGregor tried out his "Theory Y" ideas as president of Antioch College (1948–1954) but sadly concluded:[3]

> Before coming to Antioch I had observed and worked with top executives as an adviser in a number of organizations. I thought I knew how they felt about their responsibilities and what led them to behave as they did. I even thought I could create a role for myself which would enable me to avoid some of the difficulties they encountered.
>
> I was wrong! It took the direct experience of becoming a line executive and meeting personally the problems involved to teach me what no amount of observation of other people could have taught.
>
> I believed, for example, that a leader could operate successfully as a kind of adviser to his organization. I thought I could avoid being a "boss." Unconsciously, I suspect, I hoped to duck the responsibility for one course of action among many uncertain alternatives, of making mistakes and taking the consequences. I thought that maybe I could operate so that everyone would like me—that "good human relations" would eliminate all discord and disagreement.
>
> I couldn't have been more wrong. It took a couple of years, but I finally began to realize that a leader cannot avoid the exercise of authority any more than he can avoid responsibility for what happens in his organization. In fact, it is a major function of the top executive to take on his own shoulders the responsibility for resolving the uncertainties that are always involved in important decisions. Moreover, since no important decision ever pleases everyone in the organization, he must also absorb the displeasure, and sometimes severe hostility, of those who would have taken a different course.

The strong collegial form can also have its problems. It can work well in normal times but can break down in a time when consensus on campus becomes *dissensus*, as it did at Berkeley and at many other institutions in the middle and late 1960s. As explained by Martin Trow:[4]

> What we see at work there is a spirit of laissez-faire, within broad administrative constraints set by limitations of space, time, staff, and other resources, that mirrors the broader philosophy of the multiversity as a whole. This pattern may be seen as an institutional response to the problem of combining higher education offered to very

> large numbers of students of the most diverse character with the highest standards of scholarly and scientific work. But the events of the past few years have revealed basic weaknesses in the system which are in a sense the defects of its virtues. One of these is the lack of a central widely shared sense of the nature of the institution and a weakness in its capacity to gain the loyalties and devotion of its participants. This means that the institution operates on a relatively thin margin of error. Closely related to this is its tendency to generate both among students and faculty somewhat diffuse resentments, feelings of frustration and alienation from an institution which provides services and facilities but which seems singularly remote from the concerns of individuals, responsive only to pressures and problems that are organized and communicated through the regular channels, and not always even to those.

Whether in the strong ("initiator") or the weak ("servant") form, collegial governance works best where the institution has a strong sense of cohesion and even of coherence, where goals are held in common, where processes of governance are basically accepted, and where there is personal tolerance and respect among the members of the community. Under these conditions, it is "the leader in the academic community [who] must bring about consensus" (Corson).[5]

The first great horizontal axis in the American college and university arose in relation to the faculty. Faculties, particularly after 1890, began to accumulate power. Increasing specialization meant that the president became the universal amateur and faculty members gathered the power that goes with specialized competence. Departments became more powerful and were run by their faculty members, particularly the senior members, on the basis of consensus. Tenure and academic freedom came to be more universally recognized and placed faculty members in virtually invulnerable positions. Presidents might come and go but faculty members stayed; as one president said: "Presidents are rented but faculty members are bought." Presidents increasingly held their tongues but faculty members used theirs.

Faculty members collectively could take action against the president but the president was one isolated person; and faculty members could, and occasionally did (as in the late 1960s and early 1970s), coalesce with students in mass actions against presidents.

In many places, faculties found their representatives in department chairpersons and deans; and, in some places, the provost became the senior business agent. The president, of necessity, came more and more to consult and negotiate and not to decide on his or her own. The faculty, by delegation from board and president and by practice, developed its own spheres of influence where board and presidential authority did not intrude. The relationship of the president to faculties became more collegial.

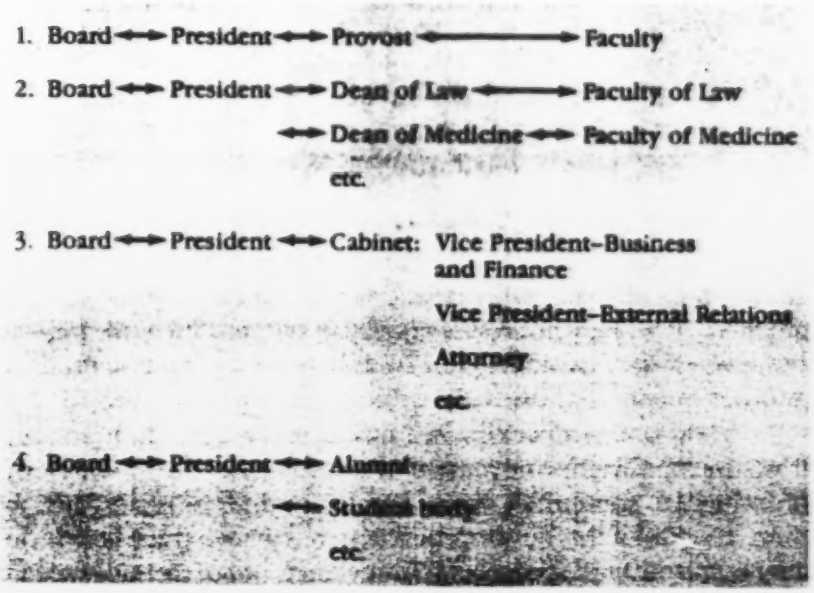
Consensus is the normal form of faculty governance as practiced in most departments. It is bad form to bring up controversial proposals. It is also bad form to go against the known wishes of senior and/or distinguished members of the department. Any collective action taken is by broad consensus. Disputed matters are withdrawn, postponed, or compromised. As much as possible is left to individual decision. The chairperson is in charge of this set of rules.[6]

Where great academic decentralization exists, as at Harvard, there are a whole series of horizontal lines, school by school, representing the power structures shared by deans and faculty members. There are several independent collegial decision-making communities rather than just one; and the president coordinates them all.

The next great horizontal axis developed later. This was the axis of the administrative staff. Specialized competence here also became a base of influence—particularly for the lawyers, but for budget officers and space analysts and others as well. Permanent staff members might not choose the president, but they could make or break him or her particularly in the early days of a presidency and in times of trouble. The rise of "untouchables" in most colleges and universities—administrators not subject to replacement by the president—is one obvious sign of this new order; and the degree to which many presidents now consult these additional centers of administrative influence is another. The president often needs the support of the vice-presidents more than they need him or her. This is the "team" approach.

The centers of influence in this model will always include the board, the president, and the faculty. They may, and mostly do, also include other students, and, less commonly, the alumni as in some historic residential institutions. All of these centers exercise their influence by taking action; but only one can be effective by inaction—the faculty, by just holding out its final opinion, sometimes for years on end. (See Figure 11-1.)

Figure 11–1. **Consultation on a horizontal axis**


1. Board ↔ President ↔ Provost ↔ Faculty
2. Board ↔ President ↔ Dean of Law ↔ Faculty of Law
↔ Dean of Medicine ↔ Faculty of Medicine
etc.
3. Board ↔ President ↔ Cabinet: Vice President–Business and Finance
Vice President–External Relations
Attorney
etc.
4. Board ↔ President ↔ Alumni
↔ Student body
etc.

This is the world of shared governance, of presidents who discuss and agree, of teams and committees, and of consultation and consensus, and often of slow movement of decisions through the process. The president is an especially influential colleague in all this—clearly the first among many colleagues; and the president does remain at the center of the process. Daniel Yankelovich noted that the presidency of the United States "is so powerful" for the reason that "it is the only institution that is concerned with the common interest." Also, it is the position with major responsibility for what Yankelovich calls the "working through process"—placing items on the agenda, getting them discussed, helping a majority point of view emerge, moving on to action.[7]

The college president, likewise, guards the general interest and works things through; and this places the president in a central position. Also, the president has the power to bargain and the opportunity to persuade, and has the most information. Presidential responsibility in this model greatly exceeds presidential authority, but somebody is in charge of the consensus process, at least so long as the consensus exists. Themistocles once said that leaders have two powers: to persuade and to command. The collegial president also has two powers: to persuade and to persuade.

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The president comes to require a wider range of skills:

- Hierarchical skills with personal staff. He or she is the boss here. He or she must make good decisions.
- Collegial skills with academic and administrative colleagues. He or she is captain of the team. He or she must encourage agreement and elicit support.

This is not just a matter of skills. It is also a matter of temperament. The hierarchical relation requires decisiveness and clarity; the collegial, patience and persuasiveness. These temperaments may or may not reside equally in one and the same person, but, even if they do, it may not be easy to turn from one mode to another between phone calls or between appointments.

This whole development has gained momentum, in part, from the equal rights movement of recent times. The distribution of influence, sometimes more nominally than in reality, is now more equal. But this development also has grown out of the more long-term spread of specialized competence, out of the more secure status for many members of the academic community, out of greater sharing of information, and out of the experience of what actually works best. These are all fundamental changes.

❧

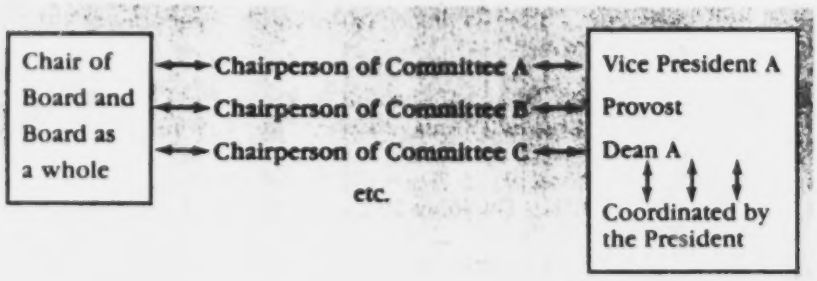
The plural presidency: An important variation of this model is the presidency that has become plural. The central theme is still the building of consensus along horizontal lines that lead among centers of influence. But there may be several, rather than one, consensus-builders. There is a leadership group that exercises multiple leadership in a loosely coordinated way.

Miriam M. Wood,[8] based upon a detailed study of ten selected liberal arts colleges, emphasizes the strong role of board committees and, particularly, of committee chairpersons who come to run specific aspects of the college along with the vice president or provost or dean with responsibility in each area: business, finance, buildings and grounds, educational policy, student affairs, alumni relations and fund raising—each chairperson reporting directly to the board. These chairpersons are mostly very devoted and very competent: "In the extreme case, the president may seem almost expendable—or at least somewhat extraneous to the efficient work-

ings of the trustee committee system." Wood quotes one trustee as suggesting that "maybe a college doesn't need a president."

In our field interviews, we did find new college presidents who came on the job to discover everything that needed doing was being done, and done well, by somebody else; and they had to find ways to insert themselves into the operation. The small private college *can* be run effectively by board members in cooperation with individual top administrators and the faculty senate. There are several "presidents" (the chairpersons of trustee committees) linked together by the board chairperson (and, perhaps, the president) and also by mutual devotion to the institution. (See Figure 11-2.) Such a system can become self-reinforcing as stronger and stronger chairpersons and vice presidents (and equivalents) lead to weaker and successively weaker presidents.

Figure 11–2. **The plural presidency**



Chapter Notes

1. Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 36–37.

2. The "central principle of organization" in Theory Y is "integration: the creation of conditions such that the members of the organization can achieve their own goals *best* by directing their efforts toward the success of the enterprise." Managers in this type of organization have "confidence in the potentialities of subordinates, awareness of management dependency downwards, and a desire to avoid some of the negative consequences of emphasis on personal authority." Employees are treated as "adults" who "learn to exercise self-direction and self-control under appropriate conditions." The task of the manager "is to help them discover objectives consistent both with organizational requirements and with their own personal goals, and to do so in ways which will encourage genuine commitment to these objectives. Beyond this, his task is to *help* them achieve those objectives: to act as teacher, consultant, colleague, and

only rarely as authoritative boss." Douglas McGregor, *The Human Side of Enterprise* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), 49, 125–26, 152.

Robert K. Greenleaf also has proposed a model of "president as servant," in which the "top leadership team" would consist of "a team of equals with a primus." In Greenleaf's *Servant Leadership: A Journey into the Nature of Legitimate Power and Greatness* (New York: Paulist Press, 1977), 62.

3. Douglas McGregor, "On Leadership," *Antioch Notes* 31, no. 9 (May 1, 1954).

4. Martin Trow, "Conceptions of the University: The Case of Berkeley," *American Behavioral Scientist* 11, no. 5 (May–June 1968): 18.

5. John J. Corson, *Governance of Colleges and Universities* (New York: McGraw—Hill Book Co., 1960), 182.

6. For an interesting discussion of departmental governance see Arthur L. Stinchcombe, "Orientation to the Department of Sociology" (Berkeley: University of California, 1 October 1971).

7. Daniel Yankelovich, "How the Public Learns the Public's Business," *The Kettering Review* (Winter 1985): 16–17.

8. Miriam Mason Wood, "Crosscurrents and Undercurrents in the Trustee-President Relationship," *Educational Record* 65, no. 1 (Winter 1984): 40–41.

Also see Miriam Mason Wood, *Trusteeship in the Private College* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); and Miriam Mason Wood, "What Role for College Trustees?" *Harvard Business Review* 61, no. 3 (May–June 1983): 1–8.

The President as One Center of Power and Influence— The Polycentric Model and Political Coalitions

12

We have been looking at governance as though it took place only inside the institution. Actually, much of the governance takes place outside, and more of it all the time. Important decisions are made by federal instrumentalities; at the state level by the governor, by the legislature, by coordinating councils; and by the courts, both federal and state. Decisive influences come in from the press, the public, and special interest groups sometimes directly represented on the board.

Students often operate as a faction or factions of their own. Student governments sometimes run large enterprises. Student caucus groups occasionally take over facilities that, in fact, come to belong to them. Student organizations lie on no vertical axis (although individual students do vis-a-vis faculty members) and, to the extent that they lie on a horizontal axis, student relations with other campus groups are now as likely to be marked by confrontation as by collegiality. And some student caucus groups are tied as much to external communities as they are to internal groups.

Alumni, where organized and active, can have major impacts particularly in long-established private institutions; in some, for example, Dartmouth, alumni are the most important single long-run influence. A few even have counter-institution or, at least, counter-president alumni associations advancing their positions in confrontation.

Frequently inside the faculty there is much fractionalization: school versus school and department versus department, particularly where resources are stable or in decline; and many faculties have become unionized. Also there are confrontations of campus versus system; and of lower versus higher administrative layers within the administration, particularly where staff members are unionized.

We live in what Lionel Trilling called an "adversary culture." And the emphasis on equity (each group with its own definition of equity), as Aaron Wildavsky notes, makes institutions comprised of such constituent groups "difficult to lead."[1] Power and influence are located many places in what Donald Walker has called a "polycentric" model;[2] and, in the words of John Gardner, "leadership is more than ordinarily dispersed," "faction is king" and "divisiveness feeds on itself."[3]

Each power bloc is itself pressured by other focal points of influence seeking to affect its actions, and sometimes they are permitted to exercise veto power; in turn, each power bloc seeks to influence others. Each power bloc also seeks to gain and to enlarge a territory that it can control on its own. The big losers have been the educational institution to outside power blocs and the presidency to inside power blocs. And sometimes "the very idea of a concern for the common good has faded," in what John Gardner has called "the war of the parts against the whole."[4] All these power blocs have their own interests and goals.

Power blocs are drawn, and sometimes held, together by their interest in the ongoing functions of the academic institution. Confrontations that take place, by and large, are bounded by the law, by the rules and practices of the institution, and by the mutual desire of all power blocs to see that the whole enterprise works reasonably well. Confrontation is carried out in committee rooms and in the corridors of power, and only seldom in the streets, in the media, and in the courts. Political bargaining takes place all around all the time in a community more politicized than ever before in the history of American higher education.

Remnants of the old vertical system internally are relations of board to president, of president to personal staff, and of faculty to individual students in their classes and where otherwise under their academic supervision. Most of the rest of the internal relationships are, to one degree or another, horizontal, sometimes still collegial in nature but increasingly confrontational; and there are

many more centers of power than in the more limited horizontal models noted earlier, and they are more antagonistic to each other. Increasingly, some of these centers of power can make decisions on their own in substantial areas once subject to more central guidance. There are several, or many, separate and self-governing segments. (See Figure 12-1 on the following page.)

The results of all this are that fewer decisions can be made because of more veto power; that those decisions that can be made are made more slowly due to extensive consultation and confrontation; that there is less of a central vision for the institution and more of a congeries of competing visions; that "nobody is in charge," to use a phrase of Harlan Cleveland, and that governance is shared and contested at so many places that nobody can be fully in charge—although the president can be held responsible since blame is not shared so widely as power. From the presidential point of view, participatory democracy includes nonparticipatory responsibility. There can even seem to be a "conspiracy" against leadership, "a vast, amorphous, unwitting, unconscious conspiracy" to prevent the president "from doing anything whatever to change the university's status quo," that helps to answer Warren Bennis's question: "Where have all the leaders gone?"[5]

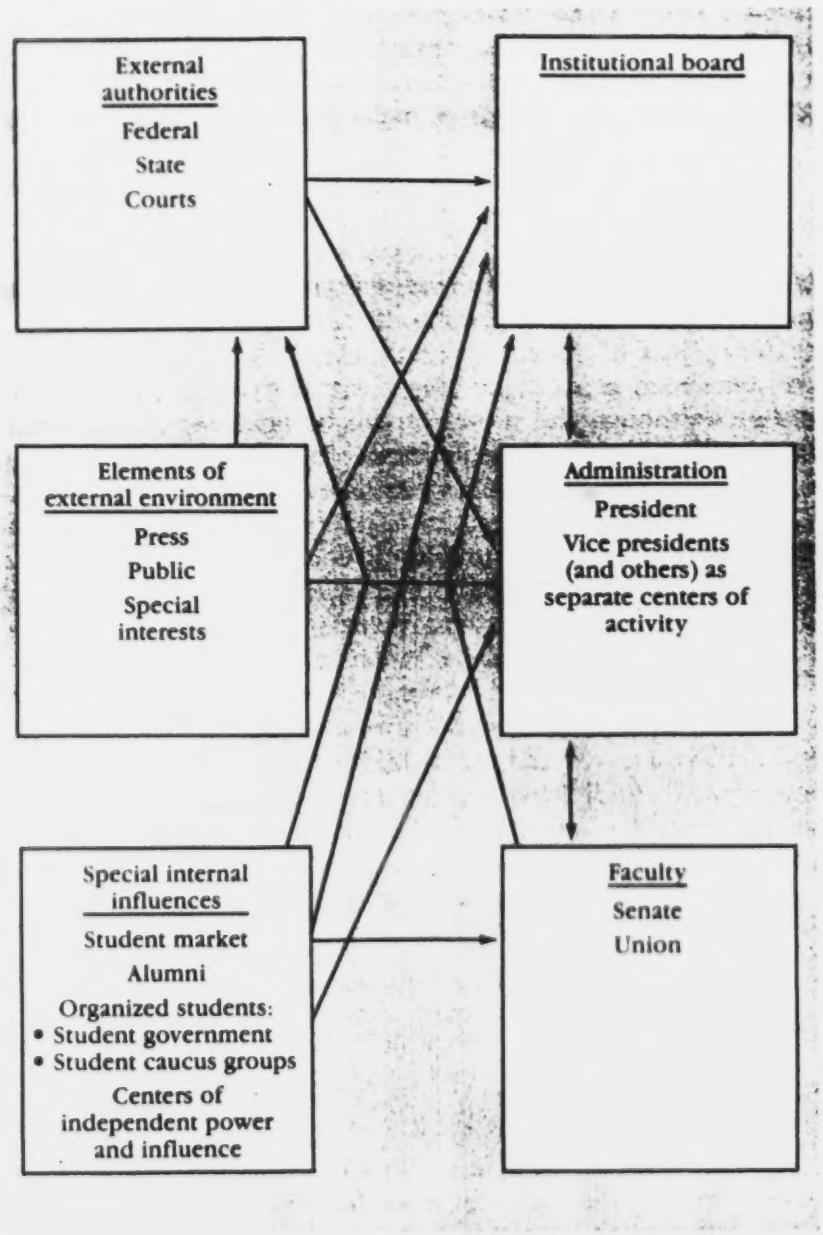
Stasis is the most likely overall result. The only set of arrangements that cannot be vetoed is that which comprises the status quo. It is like France, as described by Michel Crozier, where incongruous elements (individual anarchic conduct, group aspirations for utopian solutions, and a powerful operating bureaucracy) are all locked together in a "stalemate society" or "stalled society."[6]

This has been called by Edward Shils the "hole in the center" model:

> . . . it is necessary to speak out emphatically for the existence of an institutional counterweight of a strong president and a coherent and responsible senate or council . . . which would continuously represent the interests of the whole.[7]

Such arrangements may work reasonably well in a period of quiet but cannot readily respond effectively to some fundamental challenge to the institution such as the sudden onset of decline. For example, some power-bloc boards or heads of systems have repudiated adjustments undertaken by presidents to respond to decline. These polycentric arrangements are more a loosely jointed

Figure 12–1. **Political Process in the Polycentric Model***



*This draws on a diagram by Frederick S. Lane in his introduction to *Current Issues in Public Administration*, ed. Frederick S. Lane, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), xvi.

raft built for a quiet pond than a seagoing ship for a stormy ocean. There is no single steering mechanism to assert control in a hurricane. Power and influence reside several places, none of which has either overall dominance of power or influence. And it sometimes can come to the point where "things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; mere anarchy is loosed upon the world."[8]

To be effective in getting any change in the midst of all these power blocs, the president must engage in a pacific form of guerrilla warfare. He or she must take on other power blocs carefully, one at a time; must avoid frontal conflict except when holding overpowering force; must attack others where and when they are weak; must withdraw when meeting overwhelming opposition; must take whatever time is needed; must never run the chance of final defeat; must keep most of "the people" friendly or neutral at any one moment of time. The president must expect some group to be angry with him or her at any point of time, but cannot afford to have every group mad at the same point of time. The president tends to become more cautious and to consult more constantly with lawyers and public relations counselors.

The presidential power bloc does, however, have a strong opportunity to bargain because it has a veto power over so many requests for budget, for personnel appointments, and for new endeavors. It can withhold approval; it also can delay any action. The presidential power bloc mostly has negative power, and negative power is distributed widely in this model as a whole. The power of each power bloc is mostly the power to block the power of others. The polycentric system is organized more to stop things than to get things done.

New presidential skills and temperaments are required, including the skills of avoiding responsibility where others really are responsible (and the president may find personal refuge as a harried survivor in the labyrinth of the many corridors of power); the skills of confrontation supported by a combative temperament; and the political skills of building coalitions and of bargaining with other power blocs and of exercising political shrewdness. The presidency becomes one of the power blocs, with its leader carefully calculating each next move.

This is the world of fractionated power blocs in a segmented society with divided institutions. The power blocs coalesce with each other, oppose each other, bargain with each other, while each goes ahead running its own large or small domain. This is a world

of accommodation and of conflict but not of overall consensus. The emphasis is more upon acceptable processes and less upon achievement of common goals. This model is, in more general economic and political terms, a form of syndicalism, with each syndicate having a degree of autonomy from each of the others. The president often feels encircled by these syndicates and goes on the defensive and assumes the stance of one person against all those collectivities. Several presidents spoke of being "encircled," and one called such a situation "a psychological ripoff."

This polycentric model is somewhat like that set forth by Aaron Wildavsky for the American town:

> Our major thesis is that the political systems of most American cities are best described as pluralist rather than as rule by all the people or by a power elite. There is no small group of people which consistently wins out in cases of conflict over a wide range of important issues. Neither is there a large mass of citizens whose views as to specific policy usually prevail by their own actions. Instead, we find that the small group of citizens which is typically influential in one issue area, such as housing, is quite different from the other small groups which largely control decisions in other issue areas such as utilities, elections, education, industrial development, and welfare activities. To the extent that some individuals are influential in several issue areas, the chances are that they are not equally powerful in all, that they suffer defeats in some and that they are governmental officials. Power is thus fragmented among many different individuals and groups and rather widely dispersed (unequally to be sure) in the community. The answer to the question, "Who rules in X city?" is likely to be—different small groups of interested and active citizens in different issue areas, with some overlap, if any, by public officials, and occasional intervention by a larger number of people at the polls. The pluralist political system is fragmented, competitive, open, and fluid.
>
> A second thesis is that the rise of pluralist systems in American communities is a development implying hope and promise for the practice of democracy and the development of the individual. The notion of the mass man—atomized, uprooted from his fellows and his community, utterly without means of controlling his destiny, a natural victim for totalitarian movements—though it has some elements of validity, is not accepted here. On the contrary, the opportunities which a pluralist society pro-

vides for the individual to resist aggression, for making his participation in community affairs effective, and for fruitful self-expression are stressed.

. . . [The] pluralist system may be described as a multitude of independent centers manned by specialists whose goals and strategies are substantially nonconflicting. When conflict threatens it is settled by bargaining among leaders who find this method preferable to the risk of breaking up the system from which they all gain. Only small changes in policy are made so that the chances of severely depriving others by any one move are considerably reduced. When the policies pursued by one center adversely affect that of another, the difficulty is handled by "fire-truck" tactics, that is by dealing with each small difficulty in turn in whatever center of decision it is.[9]

A less benign view is that of John Gardner that "pluralism" sometimes has "gone berserk."[10]

Certain it is, however, that in a pluralist system many more people and groups get a chance to participate; and that many more complexities arise for the mayor in the city and for the president on campus.

Chapter Notes

1. Aaron Wildavsky, *The Nursing Father: Moses as a Political Leader* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1984), 222.

2. See Donald E. Walker, *The Effective Administrator* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1979), 26.

3. John Gardner, *Leadership: A Sampler of the Wisdom of John Gardner*, with a Foreword by Harlan Cleveland (Minneapolis: Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, 1981), 11, 23.

4. *Ibid.*, 14, 20.

5. Warren Bennis, *The Unconscious Conspiracy: Why Leaders Can't Lead* (New York: AMACOM, 1976), 143.

6. Michel Crozier, *The Stalled Society* (New York: Viking Press, 1973). The problem is exacerbated in the United States by what Crozier elsewhere has called "the delirium of due process" that leads to a concentration on procedure over substance. See Michel Crozier, *The Trouble with America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), chap. 6.

7. Edward Shils, "The Hole in the Centre: University Government in the United States," *Minerva* 7, no. 1 (January 1970): 7.

8. William Butler Yeats, *The Second Coming*. In *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953), 184.

9. Aaron Wildavsky, *Leadership in a Small Town* (Totowa, N.J.: The Bedminster Press, 1964), 7–8, 344.

10. Gardner, *Leadership*, 23.

The President With Limited Power or Influence— (A) The "Organized Anarchy" Model or (B) Atomistic Decision-Making in a Shared Environment

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A fourth model places the president essentially outside the realms of power and influence in on-going administration. The hard form of this model presents the president as more a consumer than a producer, and, as producer, more a presiding officer than a leader or manager. The soft form has the president (and the board) serving as a benign patron of the institution, intervening not in daily operations but only when the long-run welfare of the institution requires guidance and/or protection.

❧

(A) "Organized Anarchy." This is the model of Cohen and March in *Leadership and Ambiguity*,[1] written for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. They call the governance of higher education "organized anarchy" (p. 3). Their study of 42 institutions was undertaken in the early 1970s when the academic presidency was at its nadir.

Cohen and March contest the "heroic conception" of the president who leads (p. 204)—the hero theory only gives rise to false expectations and to real disappointments. Instead, they present

the position as a "reactive" (p. 2) rather than an active one. The presidency is mostly "important to the president" (p. 3). In particular, "presidents do not appear to have much to say about academic policy" (p. 103). The role played is more "sporadic and symbolic than significant" (p. 2), and the president has only "modest control over the events of college life" (p. 2). Thus, "the contributions he makes can easily be swamped by outside events" (p. 2). And "outcomes do not depend much on the college president" (p. 5). As a result, "most presidents are nearly invisible" (p. 75).

The basic reason given for this minor role for the president is that the college is not only an "organized anarchy" but one with great "ambiguity" about goals (p. 3): "the university is an organization that does not know what it is doing" (p. 149); and it is difficult to be a "leader with a purpose" in "an organization without one" (p. 205). The institution, additionally, is marked by "high inertia" (p. 206) in the Cohen-March model and the president, in any event, has little power (p. 195). "The college president is an executive who does not know exactly what he should be doing and does not have much confidence that he can do anything important anyway" (p. 151). Leadership is not possible.

March did later qualify this minor "reactive" role for the president in his David D. Henry Lecture. In this lecture, he said there is another theory that "managers *do* affect the ways in which organizations function" and that this theory "is probably closer to the truth." In particular, the presidency "involves the mundane work of making a bureaucracy work"; but this is a rather mundane contribution.[2]

"In a university anarchy each individual in the university is seen as making autonomous decisions" (p. 37); as a consequence, central authority really is not essential.

This model of the president more as figurehead than leader and of the "presidency" as "illusion" (p. 2) does not trouble March, for he says (also in the David D. Henry Lecture) that "most proposed changes are bad ideas" and, "on the average, an organization will be hurt by being the first to try a new direction." "Resistance to change. . . is. . . a generally sensible strategy." Consequently, if presidents cannot give leadership to change, this is all to the good; and, if they could, it would be mostly bad.

The advice given is consistent with the Cohen and March analysis. To the president, it is, first of all, to be "more relaxed." The president, also, should not "overestimate his power" (p. 119)

and should not attempt "things he cannot" do (p. 120). Presidents should realize that they mostly contribute only to the "ritual legitimacy" of decisions otherwise arrived at (p. 123) and can play only a "modest part" overall (p. 205). They should reconcile themselves to spending much of their time in "royal activities" (p. 129). They should not be too ambitious because the "college presidency is an ambition trap" (p. 193). As an alternative, the president should "find pleasure in the process of presidential life" (p. 203) and there is much pleasure to find; should concentrate on consumption and not production: "leadership is a form of consumption" (p. 151). Presidents also should be concerned with "managing their own reputations," March advises in the David D. Henry Lecture, and with the impact of their decisions on the president's own political status. This advice all flows from the central point of view that the presidency is more important to the incumbent to use and to enjoy than to the institution to benefit or to lose. Put more brutally: The responsibility of the president is the president.

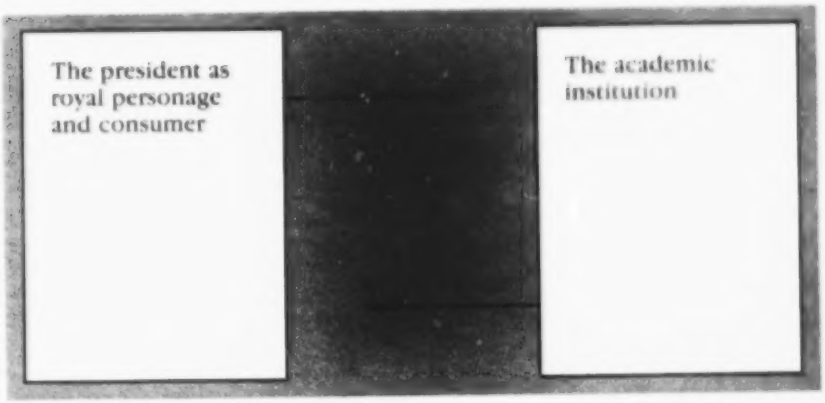
The skills needed for the president under this model are quite different from those in the other models described in this volume: to be able to analyze realistically what can and cannot be done and, because not much can be done, to relax and enjoy the perquisites of the job. Others on campus will also, then, be able to enjoy their lives more; they also will be able to relax.

To trustees, the advice is that "performance is an act of God or at least not clearly under the control of the president" (p. 149), and therefore trustees should go easy on evaluation: "Those who are remembered best are probably most distinguished by their good fortune in coming into office during a period of collegiate good times and growth, or their bad fortune in being there when the floods came" (pp. 203–4). "Broad social events" and "unpredictable vicissitudes" affect the president's "reputation and his term of office" more than do his "actions" (p. 203). Also, trustees should not take presidential selection all that seriously, because "while not all presidents are the same," "they vary within limited ranges" (p. 24).

Some presidents do follow the Cohen-March model. By choice, they turn themselves into royal personages enjoying the perquisites on campus or into presidents-in-absentia enjoying them off-campus. Others are forced to be virtual nullities by the interim nature of their "home guard" appointments, by excessively administrative boards, by staffs of untouchables surrounding them, or by dominating systems above and aggressive unions below. These are

the nullities by coercion. But we found that the nullities, of any type, are the exception and not the rule. (See Figure 13-1.)

Figure 13–1. **The Presidential Nullity in Organized Anarchy**



Ambiguities in "ambiguity." The concept of ambiguity is so central to the Cohen and March model, and ambiguities (particularly relating to purposes and to power and to results) are so central to the life of academic institutions, that a few comments are in order:

1. Some goals are ambiguous, like "good teaching," but most are not, such as balancing the budget and filling the residence halls.
2. Some goals are in conflict, and thus ambiguous in their totality, but also many are not.
3. The president gains some influence from ambiguity by being able to choose among goals and by seeking to define them. The danger is that he or she may choose, too often, those goals that are most precise and where results can be calculated in the short run.
4. Some power is ambiguous but much is not. Most issues are subject to decision someplace, but not all in the same place. Nobody is in charge of everything but somebody is in charge of each thing. The campus has been described by Martin Trow as analogous to a telephone cable, which in cross-section looks to the outsider like a jumble of unrelated wires. In reality, "each strand extends backwards and for-

ward" in time, "moving along in its own coherent, purposeful, even rational way, each marked by its own set of actors and purposes which are largely *insulated from other strands, even as they intertwine.*"[3] Another analogy, particularly applying to making budgets and handling personnel actions, is an assembly line: with parts flowing in from many sources and the president serving as the final inspector on the line.

5. The president gains some influence, if not power, by working in areas of indecision where he or she can work out solutions.

6. Some results are ambiguous, but many are not. Unfortunately, the most important result, the long-run quality of the academic program, is the most ambiguous.

Presidents live, mostly, not in a world of obscurity like a Kafka novel or the Cohen-March model, but in a world of brutal clarity like a Mickey Spillane thriller.

❧

An alternative formulation: (B) Atomistic decision-making in a shared environment. "Anarchy" implies the absence of a supreme power. It also implies confusion and disorder, chaos and lawlessness. Many, in fact most, campuses no longer have a supreme power but few are in chaos—and then, usually only temporarily. There can be stability and a highly productive environment without a strong central authority, just as economic markets can be stable and effective without a planning agency in control. This is a world where most individuals act most of the time on their own within the boundaries of the mores of the surrounding community. Everybody is in charge of their own endeavors.

Atomistic decision-making is a central feature of the academic enterprise. Most students decide what they want to do and what courses they want to take with few restrictions, and most faculty members decide what they want to do and what courses they want to give and what research they want to undertake. The bulk of activity on most campuses does flow within these broad areas of atomistic choices; most participants "do their own thing" most of the time. Developments over the last 20 years have enlarged these areas as course requirements and *in loco parentis* rules were eliminated or reduced for students, and as faculty members became

more independent of deans, provosts, and presidents. Martin Trow has called this "a further triumph of the spirit of voluntarism."[4] "A university," in the words of Lewis Thomas, "must be the most decentralized of all institutions—it runs itself."[5]

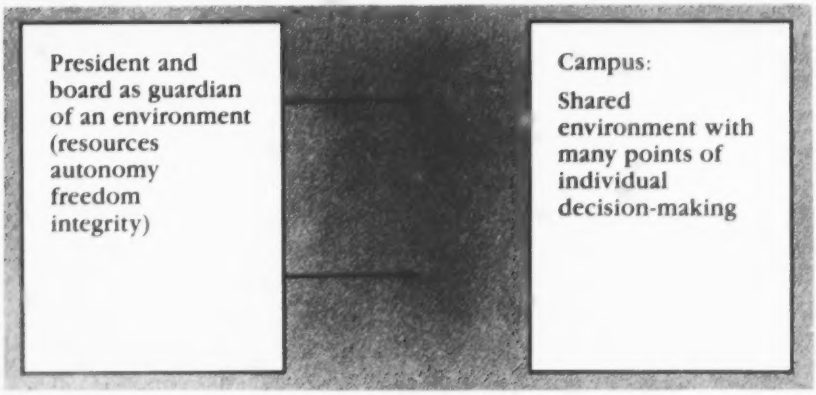
Faculty members often look upon themselves as individual entrepreneurs with a retainer and tenure. Collectively, they assert the right not to be any better governed than they want to be, and they often do not set their sights very high. They view themselves ideally as a free association of individuals under the lightest possible administrative guidance. One of the people we interviewed was the male president of a women's college. As a gesture of good will, he had made for each of the few male faculty members a key that unlocked the facility previously available only to the president. One of them thanked him and said: "You just gave away the key to the only thing you really controlled on this campus."

The college may be looked upon as an environment—an environment shared by many people, not as an organization with a purpose. It is as much a locus for many individual actions as a Middle East bazaar; sellers make and sell what they want to make and sell, and buyers buy what they want to buy. Most participants want to preserve the environment, but a few occasionally want to change or destroy it. People inside the environment make choices but the environment just exists more than acts consciously. The president may, occasionally, make his or her own choices as just another creature within it. But, mostly, the president and the staff and the board act, within the confines of this model, as the guardians of the community, maintaining it and, when necessary, changing it—a little at a time.

The president, as guardian, lies outside the vast mass of decisions being made by others, but may still, on occasion, play an essential role when the environment is threatened internally or externally. The guardian must be well informed, must be sensitive to any threats, and must be wise about any intervention. The role is a difficult one, for those guarded are not infants or idiots. To be effective, the role, when active, best follows the methods of the strong form of the consensus model set forth earlier, and is generally compatible with that model. The difference is that the consensus model placed the president at the center of the daily process, whereas this model relates to occasional and very selective intervention. The president acts like a constitutional monarch above all but the most serious issues of institutional survival and advance-

ment. The president exercises intermittent power and influence. (See Figure 13-2.)

Figure 13–2. **President as Guardian**


President and board as guardian of an environment (resources autonomy freedom integrity)
Campus:
Shared environment with many points of individual decision-making

❧

Some further comments on power and influence. The trend historically has been from Model I (authority) to some version or the other of the other three (consensus, confrontation, atomism). Model I (authority) is still alive, however, particularly in some Catholic and evangelical Protestant institutions, in some community colleges still dominated by their founders, and in some private comprehensive colleges and universities. Model II (consensus) is dominant in the elite research universities and the most selective liberal arts colleges, and in some of the few remaining experimental colleges. Model III (confrontation) finds its most frequent home in some (particularly urban) comprehensive colleges and universities and in some (also urban) community colleges. Model IV ("anarchy" variation), as just noted, tends to arise out of some special circumstances in several types of institutions. And Model IV (atomistic decision-making variation) is an aspect of all institutions, but more of the most elite and longer established.

All four models and their several variations, however, are helpful in understanding one or another aspect of most institutions. The diversity in governance arrangements is so great, nevertheless, that there is likely to be some truth in almost any remotely plausible model—but within limits. What limits apply to the application of each model? In terms of application, the strong form of the consensus model (the initiator form) is the most dominant single model

today with a slide toward the confrontation model. But most institutions must be explained by reference to more than one single model; for example, many land-grant institutions follow a collegial model in relations between president and faculty and a polycentric model in most other relations, and elite liberal arts colleges usually combine heavy elements of the collegial and of the atomistic decision-making models.

Different models call for different presidential characteristics: the authority model for vision and decisiveness; the collegial model for good judgment and persuasive powers; the polycentric model for integrity and political shrewdness; the anarchy model for realism and self-restraint. These presidential characteristics stem not only from the theoretical implications of each model, but also represent observable behavior among presidents in different situations. The "fit" or "match" so many presidents told us was essential between an institution and its president finds one major dimension in the congruence between the characteristics of the institution's governance pattern and the style of the particular president.

At least one additional model is necessary, the one that applies to an institution in some form of revolt, as many were in the late spring of 1970. Here, what Donald E. Walker has termed the "mob in the quad" carrying on a "Holy War"[6] may disrupt the flow of normal governance, when some students and some faculty members and some board members and some alumni and some of the press and some of the citizens enter a manic state. It is worth noting, however, that these situations have always been temporary; that they have been organized around food or sex or politics—all central and eternal problems of human society that will never go away, and each can get out of hand under some circumstances. Thus, the "mobocracy" model may reappear from time to time, but American colleges have great resiliency and restorative power and have been able rather quickly to return to more normal modes of governance although not always unscathed.

Religious influence (or other strong sense of mission) centralizes authority and so does dependence on one source of money; faculty influence, in particular, and specialized competence, in general, place the emphasis on collegiality; union and other organized group influences conduce toward confrontation.

Historically, the first organizing principle was religion, then came knowledge, and now comes organized power—both external and internal. Each principle leads in a different organizational

direction. Yet each still plays its role to one degree or another in one place or another. Mission, knowledge, and secular power—"these three"—still are in charge to some extent or another somewhere or the other, and they are each less-gentle guides to conduct than the sweet graces of "faith, hope and charity" in a kinder world.

Overall, we and others have found a proclaimed desire for more leaders in academic administration, on the one hand, but also the hard facts of fewer willing followers and of more constraints placed around emergent leaders, on the other. More heroes are demanded but more prisoners are created instead. Overall the challenges are often greater, but the individual tasks are also more complicated and more nearly monopolize the time available. These contradictions have no easy solutions.

What *is,* which we seek to describe realistically above, and what *should be,* under more ideal circumstances, inhabit different worlds of analysis.

Chapter Notes

1. Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974). Numbers in the text refer to page numbers in this book unless otherwise noted.

2. James G. March, "How We Talk and How We Act: Administrative Theory and Administrative Life" (Seventh David D. Henry Lecture, University of Illinois, September 1980), 23.

3. Martin Trow, "Leadership and Organization: The Case of Biology at Berkeley," in *Higher Education Organization,* ed. Rune Premfors (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1984), 166–167.

4. Martin Trow, "Bell, Book and Berkeley," *Experiment and Innovation* 1, no. 2 (January 1968): 1–18.

5. Lewis Thomas, *The Youngest Science: Notes of a Medicine-Watcher* (Boston: G. Hall & Co., 1983), 251–252.

6. Donald E. Walker, *The Effective Administrator* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1979), 27.

Different Places

14. Institutional Contexts and Presidencies 161

Institutional Contexts and Presidencies

14

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The impacts of the trends and forces described so far have been and are vastly different from one type of institution to another. Academically elite private institutions are shielded both from state controls and the demographic depression, while less-elite public institutions feel the full impact of both. Historically black institutions are negatively affected by the impacts of federal affirmative action policies on the historically white institutions which, by raising their admissions of blacks, draw some of the ablest and most athletic students away from traditionally black institutions. The predominantly Hispanic and Protestant evangelical colleges operate in special environments of continuing growth in size and heightened public respect for their efforts.

The seas of change have not lifted, or dropped, or tossed all boats to the same extent.

A great theme of the 1960s was presidential leadership, but it affected different types of educational institutions in quite different ways. More than 300 community colleges were started, each with its founder. Teachers' colleges were becoming comprehensive colleges and universities, many having aspirations to become doctoral-granting institutions, and many of their presidents were the founders of these transformed institutions. Doctoral-granting institutions almost universally were trying to break into the ranks of research universities; their presidents were aggressive competitors—and a few won out. Research universities were riding the great rising wave of federal funds for research (until 1968) and were in fierce contest for more prestigious listings of recipients of funds and honors, and their presidents also were in a competitive mode and some were successful within it. Many selective liberal arts colleges were adjusting their programs and images to the new life-

styles of counterculture students, and their presidents often were reluctant accommodators. Many less-selective liberal arts colleges were contending with greater competition from nearby public institutions. Their presidents had to fight for survival—and some lost.

The presidents of leading private universities and colleges, including Princeton, Yale, and Williams, schools with the most powerful and conservative alumni, were fighting battles to add women and members of minority groups to their student bodies. These presidents became prominent leaders as a result of the opposition they overcame. Those presidents meeting lesser resistance, as at Harvard, Columbia, and Penn, had less of a chance to show their leadership. But all of them were, to a degree, social reformers, however reluctant. Catholic institutions were adapting to the new ecumenical theme of the Catholic Church and thus becoming more diverse in their faculties, their student values, their boards of trustees; and the president of Notre Dame led the way.

The dominant themes of the 1980s are good management of funds, effective recruitment of new students, and astute conduct of public relations, with a rising theme of survivorship. But each category of institutions has its own context.

Some illustrations follow:

A. *Research universities in expanding or renovating areas.* Growth and quality improvement are still the major themes for rising research universities, public and private, in parts of the nation with continuing population growth and substantial wealth creation, in particular including Arizona, Southern California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Texas, and Utah; but also in a few areas, such as Pittsburgh, with attempted economic renovation. Here the opportunities for aggressive leadership are still substantial. About a score of universities, public and private, have great prospects; and their presidents enjoy an ambience somewhat like that of the early 1960s.

B. *Academically elite private universities and colleges.* Another area for continuing leadership opportunities is the private universities and colleges of the first rank academically, which are intent on raising further the quality of their students and academic life. They have a good flow of funds. Recent federal policies have aided them: lower taxes for affluent taxpayers and greater financial aid for students drawn from higher income families. Also, more prospective students now come from second-generation college-attending families with many aspiring to enter prestigious private

institutions. These institutions, additionally, are blessed with a high (and even rising) quality of trustee governance. Their trustees, almost universally, are sophisticated and devoted. Faculties usually are led by their most devoted members, not by the most disgruntled. These academic communities generally have great pride and loyalty. Leadership still has a good chance, and the presidency carries great prestige and holds a highly valued "sacred trust."

C. *Evangelical Protestant colleges.* A third area for effective leadership is that of the evangelical Protestant institutions which are prospering as never before. Their student numbers are rising. Money flows into them from many sources. Their graduates are preferred in the job market. Students and faculty members both accept authority. "Everybody pitches in to help," including faculty wives. The presidents have a great sense of mission: They are doing "God's work"; they are protecting young persons from the deadly dangers of modern American life; they are "close to the pulse beat of the people." These presidents are among the most confident of all that they can accomplish their aims. Somewhat surprisingly, several of these institutions, including Oral Roberts in Tulsa and Oklahoma Christian outside Oklahoma City, lead in the use of the most modern technology; some of them led into this by experience with the electronic ministry—older messages are carried by the newer technologies. Presidents have a recognized academic duty to assure a "Christian content" in the curriculum.

D. *Predominantly Hispanic institutions.* A fourth area with active leadership is the new predominantly Hispanic institutions. They mostly are located in growing areas of the country—Florida, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and California. Members of Hispanic communities are advancing in the labor market and in political influence; and these communities have a great sense of unity and a deep respect for their leaders, including college presidents. Their presidents are persons of influence on campus and in the surrounding community. They have a great sense of mission in advancing the welfare of their people, and of security in their solid political support.

E. *Less-selective liberal arts colleges experiencing entrepreneurial leadership for survival.* A fifth area for aggressive leadership is composed of those less-selective liberal arts colleges facing decline or even extinction—and that know it, or are otherwise in an entrepreneurial mode. Here the president can be a savior, if his

or her programs are successful. One such president has on his office wall a massive graph of enrollments showing a drastic decline under his predecessor and an equally steep increase under his own presidency. The president gets credit for winning the battle for institutional survival; the V-shaped chart stands for a personal victory. Faculty members bow to him as he walks the campus. Another such president gets a standing ovation at the conclusion of each meeting of his board.

Faculties know their jobs depend on good leadership and they are, as a consequence, usually less devoted to their customary prerogatives. There is nothing like a sudden 50 percent drop in the enrollment to liberate a faculty from attachment to the status quo ante. The president can even change the curriculum for its own sake or for the sake of a new image. These academic communities are in a survival-through-action mode.

F. *Prestigious land-grant and other public doctoral-granting institutions.* Land-grant universities and the more prestigious public doctoral-granting institutions are favored by their local and regional, and even national, reputations. They attract community support and alumni loyalty. Also, their boards tend to be composed of independent-minded and experienced members who usually rise above special interests. Presidents here are likely to be in a relatively strong position. However, these institutions often are members of systems subject to coordinating mechanisms, and presidential freedom of action is circumscribed as a result. These presidents, nevertheless, are universally recognized as leaders in their states. Their institutions often are quite competitive with each other for research funds and academic recognition. The strength that some leaders elsewhere get from a sense of mission or from the academic community's hope for survival, these presidents get from the competitive urges of their supporters.

G. *Catholic institutions.* Catholic institutions no longer have the same degree of support from a close-knit Catholic community as the church has become more ecumenical and as Catholics have entered the mainstream of American life and scattered into the suburbs. However, the presidential position is still a relatively favorable one. New presidents are more likely to have been given opportunities to prepare themselves in advance through relevant experiences. Those who are members of the clergy or nuns are given assurances that their religious order or diocese will give them

opportunities for useful service after their presidencies are completed, yielding them an unusual degree of security. They find a source of advice and personal support in the religious community, including retired members on campus and in the area. They function on campuses amid civility in personal relations and acceptance of authority. They have a sense of mission in creating a good moral climate for their academic community by serving as "keepers" of religious values.

Colleges exclusively for women are led mostly by persons with a similar sense of mission and their presidents also may be surrounded with a psychologically supportive community.

H. *Private institutions highly responsive to the student market, including comprehensive colleges and universities.* A distinctive group is comprised of those private institutions guided mostly by the student market to offer services and programs and classes of student choice. Here the market largely determines what the institution does, and it reacts in a responsive fashion. Presidents are expected to make fast and precise adjustments to market possibilities. The market tends to be an objective, even benign, governing authority. Presidents are given considerable latitude by their boards provided they satisfy the bottom line of continued solvency. Many faculty members are temporary and/or part-time, and consequently not all that involved in governance. Students tend to look on these institutions as a source of service, not as "our" college to govern or misgovern.

I. *Public comprehensive colleges and universities.* These institutions face challenges to increase their outputs of primary and secondary school teachers after 20 years of decline, and of technologically trained graduates to meet the new skill requirements of society. More generally, however, they are subject to greater than average negative demographic pressures as other institutions absorb the students who earlier would have chosen public comprehensive colleges and universities. They also are likely to be under relatively heavy state controls as in California, to have boards responsive to special interests, to have unionized faculties, to suffer in the shadow of more prestigious institutions in their states, to be subject to sunshine laws and practices, to be within systems of institutions, and to emphasize seniority in personnel decisions. The tests of management tend to be relatively severe and the chances for path-breaking efforts to be modest, although as a group, these presidents

have been more interested in improvements and more aggressive in pushing improvements than in many other institutions, partly because of the high quality of their national leadership.

J. *Less-selective and less-aggressive liberal arts colleges.* These colleges generally face heavy demographic pressures over the coming years and some have not experienced any significant growth for a quarter-century or more. Their presidents often are heavily involved in external fund raising as their overwhelming preoccupation. Their boards, frequently, are of the managerial type with some members living in the immediate community and accustomed to running their own small businesses. Their communities often keep very careful scrutiny over the private life of the president—one had to resign because the community felt he had remarried too soon after the death of his wife. Another said: "I live in a little town where everyone, except me, has lifetime employment." Often their faculties are fearful of the future but in a mood to resist any change since extinction is not enough of a possibility to encourage new approaches; faculty operate in a static-defensive mode.

Important to their localities, the names of these institutions often draw little recognition outside their regions, and little concern by foundations and other potential sources of support. Some of these institutions, however, have traditions of strong presidents, including ministers. A 1978 survey reported that 95 percent of presidents of less-selective liberal arts colleges said they had "authority commensurate with the demands of the job," compared to less than 75 percent of research university presidents.[1]

K. *Public community colleges.* In the 1960s, public community colleges were riding high. There were 300 founder presidents. Enrollments were rising phenomenally and new functions were being added constantly. Board members were usually the leading citizens of their communities.

In the 1980s, the founders are almost all gone. Enrollments have leveled off and funds are harder to get. Board members now are more likely to be representatives of special interest groups and the colleges to be affected by divisions within their surrounding communities. Boards are more likely to be involved in administrative detail than in earlier times. The sense of mission often has been reduced or even lost. Faculties often are unionized and the unions sometimes control one or more, or even a majority, of board mem-

bers; and unions often practice confrontation with presidents and always support the introduction of negotiated rulemaking to replace presidential decision making. The short-term production process leads to short-run tests of performance and sometimes to short-term presidencies. The long run is from now until June.

> K-1: The best situations for presidents are those where the college is the center of its small town or suburban community and provides the focus for cultural, social, and entertainment life; where leading citizens still serve on the board; and where many students still use the community college as the accepted steppingstone to a four-year college. The college is in a functioning "community"—small and homogeneous. Many of these campuses have the feel of a less-selective liberal arts college.
>
> K-2: The worst situations for presidents are in metropolitan centers where there is no sense of community but rather great fractionalization among diverse elements; where boards are small (for example, five members); where terms are short (for example, four years); and where members are elected, including in low-participation off-year elections.[2] Here a president may face, within two or three years, a majority of board members who are new since his or her appointment as president; and elected members who sometimes ran against the incumbent president. These presidents are on the social firing line where rich meet poor, where race meets race, where unions meet the public, where special interest group meets special interest group.

In short: the situation of community college presidents runs the whole gamut from heaven on earth to hell in this life.[3]

L. *Historically black colleges and universities.* A further category includes many historically black institutions. These colleges often have lost most of their best athletes and many academically highly qualified students to historically white institutions. Many members of the black community have suffered reverses in the labor market and in federal protection. Spirits are often low. The presidents of historically black colleges were, in earlier times, often bishops of the church or leading ministers, and they carried

great influence—the greatest of anyone in the black community. Today, there are other leaders as well. So often, the president now faces hostility when he comes back to campus after having dealt with the white establishment and perhaps compromised with it, when once he was the hero who brought back the funds that kept the college alive another year. More students and faculty members (including white faculty members recruited in the 1960s) are critics than in earlier times, and fewer are idolaters. The presidents are under enormous pressures to attend functions on campus and in the community, and to serve on committees at the local, regional, and national levels.

Most of these presidents, however, have a very great sense of mission that their institutions are essential to the black community, and this sense of mission carries them through fiscal and political emergencies; and they have the knowledge that they are models for other members of their race and must perform at the highest levels of conduct.

Tables. Table 14-1 shows an estimate of the number of institutions in each of the above categories (A–L). About one-fifth are in the currently most favored categories (A, B, C, D, E); about two-fifths in the least favored categories (I, J, K-2, L); and about two-fifths in an intermediate category (F, G, H, K-1) if and when the community college total is divided two-thirds/one-third into K-1 and K-2.

Table 14-2 (see page 170) shows the rate of presidential turnover by institutions classified according to the typology of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education. It makes clear that turnover universally is less in private than in public categories, and in the one category where the distinction is made, turnover is lower in more-elite institutions than in the less-elite ones.

Comments. 1. There are, of course, major individual exceptions within each of these categories; but the foregoing analyzed are a rough indication of how different, how variously challenging, and how "soft" or "hard" are different presidential assignments.

2. Overall, from a presidential vantage point, it is easier to be in a private institution with more favorable chances for an effective board of trustees than in a public one; to have a policy-making or report-receiving board than a managerial or representational board, whether public or private; to be in an area undergoing substantial growth than in a static or declining area; to share a strong

Table 14–1. **Institutions by type**

Type of institution (as described in text)	Estimated approximate number[1]
A. Research universities in expanding or changing areas	20
B. Academically elite private universities and colleges	200
C. Other[2] evangelical Protestant institutions	120
D. Other[2] predominantly Hispanic institutions	20
E. Less-selective liberal arts colleges with "entrepreneurial leadership"	50
F. Prestigious land-grant and other public doctoral-granting universities	100
G. Other[2] Catholic colleges and universities	200
H. Market-oriented private comprehensive colleges and universities	150
I. Other[2] comprehensive colleges and universities	500
J. Other[2] less-selective liberal arts colleges	150
K. Public community colleges	1,000
L. Other[2] historically black institutions	100
Total	2,410

[1]Does not include 300 private two-year institutions and 500 specialized institutions.

[2]Other than those included in other categories.

sense of mission with related constituencies; to have obvious market pressures to sanctify leadership decisions; to be in a position that carries prestige than in one that does not; to be in a homogeneous than in a fractionated community.

Specifically, however, there are relatively few private institutions in the growing geographical areas and so there are few best-of-all-possible worlds. But there are some boards of public research universities in growing areas that act as though they were private boards in terms of loyalty and competence and sense of autonomy, and presidents with such boards in such areas have unusually good

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Table 14–2. **Presidential turnover, 1982–85**

Type of institution	Annual turnover in percent
All public	13.4
All private	11.6
All institutions	12.7
Research universities: public	16.1
private	8.3
Doctoral-granting universities: public	15.8
private	11.5
Comprehensive colleges and universities: public	13.7
private	11.1
Private liberal arts colleges: highly selective	10.1
less selective	11.3
Public community colleges	13.0

Source: Staff analysis of data supplied by Higher Education Publications. Institutional categories from *A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education*, Rev. ed. (Berkeley: Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1976).

opportunities for leadership—they may come to be in the best-of-all-actual worlds.

3. Presidents who operate in a relatively favorable institutional context have much more choice in the strategies they choose to follow than presidents who live in a less-favorable context—some of the latter may have no choice except efforts to survive. Few presidents can rise totally above the context that surrounds them; few can levitate on the basis of their own convictions and energy alone. Leaders may be "born" but the specific context may either liberate or suffocate them; may let them bloom or cause them to wither.

4. Four axioms follow from this discussion: (a) The presidency is context-bound; (b) contexts vary greatly; (c) there is no single best, or even possible, strategy for all contexts; (d) the

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president should be evaluated within the possibilities and limitations of the context.

5. The floating factor in each type of situation is the president—his or her strategies and tactics, skills and character. The interaction of environments and character constitute a great continuing drama played out on many stages before many audiences. Heroes and villains both emerge; courage as well as cowardice is shown; wisdom and folly are variously displayed; and nobody really can know precisely how many or how much of each are the result of time and place, on the one hand, or of human performance, on the other. That is the eternal puzzle. In *The Prince,* Machiavelli wrote that "fortune is the arbiter of one-half of our actions" and that a leader "may seem happy today and ruined tomorrow without having shown any change of disposition or character."[4] And Chester I. Barnard similarly concluded: "If leadership depends, as I have said, upon the individual, the followers, and the conditions, there must be many failures that are not the result of original errors of selection. For men, followers and conditions all change."[5]

6. Environments for presidents are very unequal. Some of those with the least-conducive environments are making the greatest possible contributions to their institutions and to the communities they serve. Often getting the least credit, they deserve the most.

7. "He who has done his best for his own time has lived for all times" (Friedrich von Schiller).

Chapter Notes

1. Verne A. Stadtman, *Academic Adaptations: Higher Education Prepares for the 1980s and 1990s* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1980), 87.

2. The small turnout for special or off-year elections provides an advantage to special interest groups supporting candidates favorable to their viewpoint. However, some institutional leaders (presidents and trustees) have found it possible to use the low visibility of off-year elections to run their own candidates and generate support for them. On the whole, however, where trustees are elected, the results are generally better when voting takes place at times that encourage participation of a wide spectrum of the electorate.

3. California is not representative of the nation in this regard, but recent patterns of presidential turnover in that state illustrate the effects of serving as president in more or less favorable circumstances. From 1982 to 1985 there was a 17 percent annual turnover rate among California community college campus heads. On rural campuses the rate was 14 percent a year, just slightly greater than the national community college average (see Table 14-2). In suburban institutions the annual rate was 17 percent, and in the large urban institutions, 1 percent.

4. Niccolo Machiavelli [1517], *The Prince* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1928), 203, 204.

5. Chester I. Barnard, *Organization and Management: Selected Papers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 108.

Implications

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Policies and Tactics of Trustees and Presidents

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The need for leadership is "overwhelming in times of trouble."[1] Once the wave of student unrest receded in the early 1970s and once adjustments were made to the recessions and inflation accompanying the OPEC crisis in the middle 1970s, higher education in the United States has, for ten years (1975–1985), gone through a rather quiescent period. There have been difficulties in some states severely affected by specific economic conditions (for example, Michigan with its automobile industry, and Oregon and Washington with their lumber industry) as well as across the nation due to high inflation around 1980; but, overall, there has been no severe depression or other shock to the higher education system. Enrollments have risen continually, although at a slowing rate—in total by 10 percent over the decade.

Trouble, however, may lie ahead:

Certainly, a demographic depression confronts many institutions. Over the next decade, the size of the college-going age cohort will decline by nearly 25 percent. The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, in its report, *Three Thousand Futures,* estimated that this would mean a decline in college enrollments of 5 to 15 percent. Other estimates range widely above and below this level. All observers agree, however, that impacts among geographical regions and among types of institutions will vary enormously. Some institutions some places will keep on growing; some institutions some places will cease to exist.

Probably, a period of economic adjustments lies ahead for the nation as a result of the large federal deficit, of the high international value of the dollar, of the enormous foreign trade deficit, of the sudden emergence of the United States as a debtor nation, of the continuing uncertainty of the ability of certain other nations

(Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, among others) to pay their debts to U.S. lending institutions, of the low level of savings in the United States, of the comparatively low level of increase in productivity in the U.S. economy, and of the fast-rising burden of interest payments on the federal debt which will have an inhibiting effect on other federal expenditures for a long time to come.

Policy changes may reduce or eliminate any threats to the economy from each and all of the above developments, but this is not certain. In any event, new federal policy initiatives and substantial additional federal funding to assist higher education seem unlikely for the foreseeable future: The federal period is at an end.[2] Higher education is now becoming more dependent on the policies and financial support of the 50 different states. This will require a readjustment of strategies by many institutions, public and private.

Possibly a new period of student (and faculty) activism already has begun, as illustrated by the concern for national and institutional policies toward South Africa and institutional policies toward the pay and status of women. Internal attacks on the academic freedom to speak and to hear have been occurring again and are much harder for the academic community to handle than are external attacks from the political right.[3]

Certainly, continuing changes will need to be made to cope with the evolution of skills required in the labor market, although higher education has not yet fully adjusted to the fast rise in professional fields and the fast decline in the humanities and some of the social sciences that already have taken place. Current maladjustments between the composition of teaching staff and the composition of students' educational demands will intensify. Substantial shifting of resources will be necessary.

While troubles may lie ahead, there are some favorable signs. Public confidence in higher educational institutions has risen substantially from the low point around 1970. Students, by and large, are more civil in their behavior and more intent on academic pursuits than a decade-and-a-half ago.

The future is uncertain—that much is certain. However, it may well be more stressful than the recent past. And effective leadership may be more essential. This is why the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges undertook its study on "Strengthening Presidential Leadership in Colleges and Universities."

If a less quiescent period lies ahead for higher education, then it is clear that a time of troubles can, first, empower presi-

dents, since they will be left to make the toughest decisions, but then may destroy some of them with the fallout from those decisions. Active presidents will become both more needed and individually more endangered.

Even if the recent period of comparative calm should continue, the conditions of leadership and the quality of leaders remain eternal problems; and the diminished nature of presidencies in American colleges and universities in recent times may have cumulative effects that require countermeasures.

A challenging view of what may lie ahead is offered by George Keller:[4]

> Higher education in the United States has entered a revolutionary period, one in which not only the finances and the number of students are changing sharply but also the composition of the entire clientele, the kinds of courses and programs wanted and schedules for them, the degree of competitiveness among colleges, the technology needed on campus, the nature of the faculty, and the growing extent of external control and regulations.
>
> Colleges and universities clearly need to plan for these—and other—upheavals and to construct a more active, change-oriented management style. The era of laissez-faire campus administration is over. The era of academic strategy has begun.

Whether or not we are entering a "revolutionary period" is a matter of judgment. In any case, most would agree, however, that evolution continues in the academic environment and that it has been and is leading to the necessity for college and university presidents to operate in a system marked by high levels of information, high levels of participation, and low levels of authority. This evolution makes institutions of higher education more central to the life of society but, also, more difficult to manage in tranquility—both more essential in their purposes and more contingent in their management.

Responsibilities

Trustees. 1. A first duty of a board is to assure an effective presidency for the sake of the institution but also for the sake of the board; only with an effective presidency can a board be effective. A presidency can be made more effective by the following provisions, among others:

- A policy-making and review board.
- An executive group that reports through the president, with the president having the right (particularly during the first year of office) to review all staff members and to make changes after consultation with the board. A board that wants a coordinated administration must allow the president to build an "administrative team."
- A personal presidential staff, adequate in size and sufficiently well paid to attract highly competent people.
- A contract giving the president income security through a guarantee of one or more years' pay at the end of his or her term beyond some minimum number of years, or a tenured faculty position, or early retirement provisions. The president now usually has the least security of anyone—board members, faculty members, staff members, students; all these have more protections through term appointments, or tenure, or seniority rights and grievance procedures, or appeal procedures to judicial review. It is difficult to give long-term leadership with the sword of Damocles hanging over one's head. The president can have no tenure, ironically, because the position is so important and, also, because it must be conducted in so conflictual and changing an environment. Since the president must be expendable, offsetting inducements to serve must be found.
- A considerate policy on the spouse, if any. The best policy is a "free-choice" policy. If the spouse chooses to serve, then adequate assistance and appropriate rewards must be assured. If the spouse chooses not to serve, then provision should be made for the traditional institutional responsibilities of the spouse to be provided by others.
- A considered policy vis-a-vis the provost, including what academic role the board wishes the president to play.
- A careful review of what kind of overall governance system the institution has and the board wants, particularly analyzing the comparative reliance to be placed on authority, on consensus, on polycentric political maneuvers, on atomistic decision-making.

2. A second duty of the board is the selection and evaluation of the president. Both should be undertaken in private. If laws mandate the contrary, the board should seek to change them.

Selection is crucial. No longer can boards act as though they were holding out the Holy Grail to eager hands. They must search and persuade.

Boards must be concerned with both the selection process and the result. Too often, they concentrate mostly on the former. They want a process that appears legitimate to all members of the campus community in the short run and that preserves tranquility. This gives rise to "rainbow" selection committees, to open processes, and to least-risk decisions. The more important consideration is the long-run result, and this involves substantial board participation and confidentiality.

Boards may wish to consider the MIT-Jesuit approach of developing talent ready for promotion within the community; to look more widely outside the "boxes," identified in Chapter 2, that normally confine the search process; and, additionally, more aggressively to seek out individuals with multiple experiences and skills.

Boards should decide, in advance, what kind of president the institution wants to fit present and future needs, and not just to reflect past satisfactions and dissatisfactions. They should know whether they want a pathbreaking academic leader, or a soft or a hard manager, or a figurehead, or a "home-guard" harmonizer, or a political manipulator, or one of the other types of presidents or a combination of these types. They should know what they are looking for to fit time and place. Precise fine-tuning is required.

Evaluation is equally crucial. To be fair, evaluation must look at both performance in all areas and over the total period served; and it must be sensitive to the role of fate as well as of self-chosen actions. Memories of past accomplishments often have been too short and impressions of recent problems too deep. The central question should be: Has the person, overall, done the best possible job for the time and the place? It is also helpful if the president is told in advance what he or she is expected to accomplish and how the review of accomplishments will be conducted. If reviews are public (and preferably they should not be), they should be conducted against previously stated and specific tests of performance and in accord with precise and known methods of evaluation. Advice about how performance is perceived should always long precede the actual review so that corrections can be undertaken

in advance. Preferably, evaluation should be made of the president, of other top administrators, and of the board—all together.

3. A third duty of a board is assistance to the president:

- In giving good advice;
- In helping him or her to protect expenditures of time and energy;
- In supporting him or her in actions that follow board requests or consent. Too many boards have "cut and run" when such actions (for example, trimming or eliminating programs) have drawn adverse reactions; and the word gets around. Too many presidents reported that board members began to desert the president at the first sign of stress;
- In assuring that rewards, when warranted, at least match the punishments.

Presidents. Presidents, individually, have some very major responsibilities:

1. To be sure (in advance, as a candidate) that the potential president really wants to be a president. This involves conducting a "self-assessment" (as suggested in Chapter 9 of *Presidents Make a Difference*[5]) and also calculating what prices will be willingly paid in terms of:
   - Family life;
   - Depletion of physical and psychological reserves;
   - Interruption of academic career;
   - Changes in style of life;
   - Assumption of risks.
2. To arrange or to know in advance:
   - The expectations of the board for performance;
   - The process of presidential review that will be undertaken;
   - The degree of security that will be provided;
   - The responsibilities of the spouse, if any;
   - The prospective influence of the president over the retention and replacement of top staff;
   - The exit routes that are available.
3. To undertake to do the following:
   - To review the wisdom of the past, some of which is set forth in Chapter 9 of *Presidents Make*

a Difference,[6] in Section 3 and Appendix A of this volume, and in books such as those listed in the selected bibliography;

- To study the institution carefully and to decide what can be done in this institution at this time and how to go about it;
- To consider the administrative approach to follow, including what to handle personally and what to delegate, and whether to have a "chief of staff" to handle the flow of paperwork within policy; and how to be prepared to handle unprogrammed developments;
- To decide what existing skills to use or to develop or to secure in others;
- To develop policies to protect time and energy; and to enjoy the position and life and family along the way;
- To preserve the presidency for the sake of the institution;
- And, when the time comes, to be a good and considerate predecessor.

The Academic Community. The academic community, as a whole, for the sake of its own progress should acknowledge and ensure that, "The president is—or ought to be—the most important single individual connected with the institution." (John W. Nason[7])

Chapter Notes

1. Aaron Wildavsky, *The Nursing Father: Moses as a Political Leader* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1984), 201.

2. Clark Kerr, "The States and Higher Education: Changes Ahead," *State Government* 58, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 45–50.

3. Martin Trow, "The Threat from Within: Academic Freedom and Negative Evidence," *Change* 17, no. 4 (September/October 1985): 8–9, 61–64.

4. George Keller, *Academic Strategy: The Management Revolution in American Higher Education* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 25–26.

5. National Commission on Strengthening Presidential Leadership, Clark Kerr, dir., *Presidents Make a Difference: Strengthening Leadership in Colleges and Universities* (Washington, D.C.: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 1984), chap. 9.

6. *Ibid.*

7. John W. Nason, *The Nature of Trusteeship: The Role and Responsibilities of College and University Boards* (Washington, D.C.: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 1982), 20.

Appendixes

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Appendix A: The Wisdom of the Profession, or, What Some Presidents Have Learned

Histories, biographies, and memoirs of college and university presidents are replete with good advice for men and women who may, someday, find themselves in a presidency. Some of the advice is written in a humorous vein; some is cynical; some is rueful; most is useful to presidents in one situation or another. Here are some examples:

❧

William Rainey Harper, President, University of Chicago (1890–1906):

"In educational policy [the president] must be in accord with his colleagues. If he cannot persuade them to adopt his views, he must go with them. It is absurd to suppose that any president, however strong or willful he may be, can force a faculty, made up of leaders of thought, to do his will."

"One should never himself do what he can in any way find someone else to do."

"The president should never do to-day what by any possible means he can postpone until to-morrow. Premature action is the source of many more mistakes than procrastination."

Unlike practitioners of law, or medicine, or the ministry, who frequently deal with the dark and sorrowful side of life, "With the college professor and the college president it is essentially different. They have to deal with all that is uplifting in life, with the constructive and not the destructive forces of life. The satisfaction which this brings no man can describe."

Source: Richard J. Storr, *Harper's University: The Beginnings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 103, 105.

Francis Cornford, Lecturer in Classics and Professor of Ancient Philosophy, Trinity College, Cambridge (1904–1939):

"You think (do you not?) that you have only to state a reasonable case, and people must listen to reason and act upon it at once. It is just this conviction that makes you so unpleasant. There is little hope of dissuading you; but has it occurred to you that nothing is ever done until every one is convinced that it ought to be done, and has been convinced for so long that it is now time to do something else? And are you not aware that conviction has never yet been produced by an appeal to reason, which only makes people uncomfortable? If you want to move them, you must address your arguments to prejudice and the political motive."

"Even a little knowledge of ethical theory will suffice to convince you that all important questions are so complicated, and the results of any course of action are so difficult to foresee, that certainty, or even probability, is seldom, if ever, attainable. It follows at once that the only justifiable attitude of mind is suspense of judgment; and this attitude, besides being peculiarly congenial to the academic temperament, has the advantage of being comparatively easy to attain."

"Every public action which is not customary, either is wrong, or, if it is right, is a dangerous precedent. It follows that nothing should ever be done for the first time."

"Another argument is that *'the Time is not Ripe.'* The Principle of Unripe Time is that people should not do at the present moment what they think right at the moment, because the moment at which they think it right has not yet arrived. . .Time, by the way, is like the medlar; it has a trick of going rotten before it is ripe."

"O young academic politician, my heart is full of pity for you, because you will not believe a word that I have said. . .You will take your own way, make yourself dreadfully disagreeable, tread on innumerable toes, butt your head against stone walls, neglect prejudice and fear, appeal to bugbears. Your bread shall be bitterness, and your drink tears."

Source: Francis M. Cornford, *Microcosmographia Academica: Being a Guide for the Young Academic Politician* (Cambridge, England: Bowes & Bowes, 1908), 2, 15, 16.

Woodrow Wilson, President, Princeton University (1902–1910):

"It is important . . . to remember that Wilson had changed greatly from 1902 to 1910. He had evolved from a theoretician into a man of practical affairs; his experience as an administrator broke the spell that the years of teaching had cast over him. He began to travel more extensively and to speak with increasing emphasis on affairs political and economic. The constant turmoil at Princeton from 1907 through 1910 likewise left its mark upon Wilson. He was forced into politics of a sort—college politics—and he developed techniques that he later used with amazing results in the political field.

"'I don't want you to suppose,' he later told a friend, 'that when I was nominated for Governor of New Jersey I emerged from academic seclusion, where nothing was known of politics.' Politics had been seething in Princeton, he continued with an unconscious note of irony, ever since he had had any connection with the University. 'I'll confide in you,' he added, 'as I have already confided to others—that, as compared with the college politician, the real article seems like an amateur.' The frequent councils held with friendly trustees and faculty members, the appeals over the heads of the trustees to the alumni, and the drastic and once-tried appeal to the 'people' over the heads of the trustees and the alumni—all were part and parcel of Woodrow Wilson's political training. He left Princeton for the world of politics, therefore, not a full-grown politician, to be sure, but certainly not a novice."

Source: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House*. Copyright 1947, (c) 1975 by Princeton University Press, 91. The quotation is from Henry B. Needham, "Woodrow Wilson's Views," *Outlook* 98 (26 August 1911): 940.

A. Lawrence Lowell, President, Harvard University (1909–1933):

"The first, and, Lowell thought, almost the only indispensable qualification of a successful college president is his ability to secure a first-class contented faculty. His basic principle he always said was: 'Beware of appointing good men.' He was afraid not of incapacity but of mediocrity or, more accurately, anything but the best. The danger of appointing a man who would prove to be a total loss was negligible; but the danger that the good, rather than

the best, man would be appointed, and even more that he would be retained and advanced, was always present."

In stating his views on leadership Lowell said, "In order to lead a man must be constantly in advance of his column, not necessarily in the direction in which it has been moving, but in advance in solving the questions that arise. He must have foreseen them. He must think ahead, and have his answer ready. He must not be anticipated, or someone else will take the lead."

With respect to the powers of the president, he noted, "There is a feeling that the President is an autocrat. He has no power to decide anything or to give any orders to anybody in the institution. Practically he has some authority over the administrative officers—the Comptroller, and the heads of other administrative branches, who are practically his subordinates in carrying out the directions of the governing body; but over the Professors or the Faculty he has absolutely no authority of any kind. . ."

Lowell outlined some of the problems in long-range planning: "Now the administrator with an extensive pattern is sometimes under a grave disadvantage from the fact that he cannot explain it to people whose help he needs in carrying it out. Mark! He ought never to misinform or mislead them, and should tell them all that is in his mind, if he can, but sometimes that is impossible for three reasons: *First,* because most people cannot grasp a complex proposal from description. They must see it in the concrete before they can perceive it fully. . .*Second,* because each part of the pattern described tends to be judged by itself as a separate entity. The whole seems nebulous, but the parts in themselves distinct and tangible, assuming thereby an importance quite different from the form they take in the mind of the designer, to whom their significance is measured by their relation to the whole. . .*Third,* because so many utopian schemes are proposed without solid or rational basis that people are properly distrustful of them. No vision is self-evident or it would not be a vision; and no pattern is obvious or it would not be worth undertaking. A premature attempt to explain a plan in full to people who cannot understand it, to open prematurely a door into a building men are not prepared to enter, is liable to result in having the door locked and the key lost. . . It may not be possible to show people what they cannot yet see, and necessary to assume that they will trust their chosen guide to lead them to a point they will be glad to reach."

"A matter which apparently has little application to indus-

trial concerns, but much to the head of a university or college, is that of retaining the initiative in his own hand. It has less importance in business management, because in the nature of the case the initiative rests with the chief administrator. . . But the professors in a university or college are not, and should never be considered, the subordinates of the president . . .The president, though not in a position of command, must be the leader if he has a pattern to carry out. Suggestions he should of course receive with the greatest joy and attention, deciding, however, for himself which of them he should favor, and, if it is possible, when they should be brought forward."

"To avoid being drawn into a false path, he must strive to retain the initiative, so far as possible, in his own hands, keeping the lead by presenting a new feature of his pattern as soon as others have become established; and to have it as a whole clearly in mind is a great aid in doing so. Much must depend upon the opportunities that arise from time to time, but an ever-present pattern makes its possessor perceive these rapidly, and take quick advantage of them."

"There are many cases where rapidity of decision is more important than correctness."

"If the administrator feels tired or hurried it means that he is doing too much, that he has not learned that his business is thinking, not routine, and hence to put off until to-morrow the routine things that must be done to-day, and do to-day the things that can be done any day, for they are the important ones. If it does not mean this it means that the time has come to pass the work into younger hands.

"Much of the success of the administrator in carrying out a program depends upon how far it is his sole object overshadowing everything else, or how far he is thinking of himself; for this last is an obstruction that has caused many a good man to stumble and a good cause to fall. The two aims are inconsistent, often enough for us to state as a general rule that one cannot both do things and get the credit for them."

"In another way the attitude attributed to an administrator affects the chance of success in his enterprise; a way that seems strange and contradictory. If he desires to innovate he will be greatly helped by having the reputation of being conservative, because the radicals who want a change are little offended by the fact of change, while the conservatives will be likely to follow him because they look on him as sharing their temperament and point of view. The

converse is also true, and for the same reason: a radical can resist change with comparatively small complaint from his fellow reds, while the conservatives find little to charge him with."

Sources: Henry Aaron Yeomans, *Abbott Lawrence Lowell* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), 275, 295, 300; and A. Lawrence Lowell, "Idea, Plan and Pattern," in *What a University President Has Learned* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), 6–7, 11–12, 14–15, 20–21. Reprinted with permission of Macmillan Publishing Company.

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Robert Maynard Hutchins, President, University of Chicago (1929–1945):

"The minimum qualifications of an administrator in his dealings with the means [to attain institutional ends] are four. They are courage, fortitude, justice, and prudence or practical wisdom."

"The administrator who is willing to be an administrator and not merely an officeholder will find that the strain is chiefly upon his character, rather than his mind."

"The strain on the character is very great."

"The natural course, then, is to become an officeholder. Your life will be much easier, and you may even become popular. To the administrator, the university often seems like a gigantic conspiracy to turn him into an officeholder."

"He will seldom be seriously disliked if he does nothing . . . Academic communities, whatever their protestations to the contrary, really prefer anarchy to any form of government."

"The administrator must be a trouble-maker; for every change in education is a change in the habits of some members of the faculty."

"The essential points are that the administrator should not want to administer, but should be forced to do so for the public good; that he should have a long period of education, culminating in profound speculative study; that he should undergo a great variety of practical experience to form his character and develop the habit of practical wisdom; and that he should serve for a limited term, after which he should resume his studies, if he expects at some later time to have another. This is the kind of scheme which is called for if the administrator is to have the moral and intellectual qualities which the times demand."

"As the minimum function of the administrator is ordering the means, so his highest function is discovering and clarifying and holding before his institution the vision of the end. As the qualifications for the administrator's minimum function are courage, fortitude, justice, and prudence, so the qualification for his highest function is philosophical wisdom."

"His satisfaction will come, even if he fails, from having seen and attempted one of the most difficult works of the mind and one of the most challenging human tasks."

"When I spoke at the University of Chicago on the administrator some ten years ago, I suggested that what the administrator needed was the moral virtues and a vision of the end to be achieved. I said that he had to have courage, fortitude, justice, and prudence, or, in sum, practical wisdom. I added: 'I do not include patience, which we are told President Eliot came to look upon as the chief requirement of an administrator. . .I regard patience as a delusion and a snare and think that administrators have far too much of it rather than too little.'

"I must now confess that I believe Mr. Eliot was right, and I was wrong. I now think that my lack of patience was one of my principal disqualifications as an administrator.

"I did not want to be an officeholder. I wanted, as the saying goes, 'to get things done.' This led me to push matters to a decision, sometimes by very close votes. One highly important resolution was defeated in the faculty by a tie. Under the rules of order I was permitted to vote, since the vote was by ballot. It turned out that the tieing ballot was cast by me. Representations were made from the floor that a decision on a central educational issue should not be reached by an evenly divided faculty. These representations I ignored; I had the votes I needed.

"It is one thing to get things done. It is another to make them last. I was interested in effecting permanent improvements in American education, not in keeping the University of Chicago in an uproar. I should have known that the existence of a large and embittered minority, which felt that fundamental alterations of the University and its programs had been pushed through without consideration of its point of view, destined such alterations to endure only until the minority could muster the strength to become the majority. The example of the College of Cardinals, who, I understand, never decide anything unless the vote is unanimous, and of the Quakers, who continue their discussion until consensus is

reached, suggests the procedure that makes durability likely."

"I believe I should have done the same thing with the faculty representatives, who, under the constitution of the University of Chicago, have final power over all educational changes. If I had, I would have accomplished fewer things, but they might have survived longer. . .The pressure of time is so great, the number of people who have to be convinced is so large, interminable discussion of the same subject with the same people is so boring, that the amount of patience a university administrator must have passes the bounds of my imagination, to say nothing of those of my temperament. But I have learned at least, or I think I have, that the university president who wants *durable* action, not just action, must have patience, and have it in amounts equal to the durability desired."

Source: Robert M. Hutchins, "The Administrator: Leader or Officeholder?" in *Freedom, Education, and the Fund: Essays and Addresses, 1946–1956* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), 169, 171–174, 176, 182–187. His first address on "The University Administrator" was delivered in 1946. His second thoughts, "The Administrator Reconsidered: University and Foundation," are dated September 1955.

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Henry W. Wriston, President, Lawrence College and Brown University (1937–1955):

His early experience as an assistant to a college president, helping with fund raising, was formative. "Looking back, I can now see clearly that it was at this time that my preference for an academic man in the college presidency hardened into a profound conviction. I cannot deny that ministers, lawyers, military officers, bankers, businessmen, and others have occasionally done well. But the sound rule is that the president should be a scholar; all the other essential attributes should be present, but secondary. Fifty years of first-hand observation confirm me in that judgment."

"None of the experiences of [that] strenuous year altered my conviction that a college president should be a scholar, but they did convince me that there was a prior and still more important quality: a commitment to higher education which no discouragement could shake—indeed, with which nothing could successfully compete. All those men with whom my lot was cast had that quality to the uttermost. My own president was almost literally killing himself by overexertion in a cause which engaged his whole energy.

He was an innocent in politics, a tyro in philosophy, unread in literature, and to him science was a blank page. He had no interests, no ambitions, no desires that I could discover save to do with all his heart and mind and will what his office required.

"A second thing I have learned as I came to know these presidents better: few men have all the talents—very few. Most have limited abilities. No one whom I have ever known could do all the things expected of a college president and do all of them well. Often a man is suited to part of the task, that part which is most urgent at the moment of his appointment."

"Soon after I went to Brown someone asked me to state explicitly what I wanted from a trustee. My response was 'work, wealth, and wisdom, preferably all three, but at least two of the three.' That was candid enough, but rather less brutal than another terse summary attributed to a Midwest official: 'give, get, or get out.'"

"The first duty of a president is to try to inform all his trustees, interest as many of them as he can, and urge them to exercise their full powers. They should neither surrender them to a small 'inside' group nor trespass upon the functions of faculty and administrative officers."

"The process [of educating trustees] must be continuous. . . it requires at least three years before a new trustee is familiar with procedures, problems, and policies."

In dealing with the faculty, "When I became a president, I knew well what not to do. Never move in a hurry, much less upon impulse. Never get angry; if possible use such temperate language as to give no occasion to the other man to blow his top. He may, but at least furnish no reasonable occasion."

"Every time a formula is substituted for responsible judgment, there is official defeasement. Rules make decision easy but rob it of wisdom."

"A plan is a guide for normal situations; when something unusual supervenes, seize the opportunity and let the plan stay on ice for a while."

"Academic advance does not come, for most institutions, without taking chances. Refusal to accept hazards is neither good business nor good educational statesmanship."

"In most circumstances it takes from four to five years for a new president to become master in his own house. There are holdovers from the previous administration: they may be wedded to its ways."

"The relationship of the president with his immediate associates is not a major problem. With the provost, the business manager, vice presidents, and the deans he can get along fairly easily. He sees them often enough to be influenced by them and to influence them . . .The principal difficulty, in my experience, has been with the second line—the men and women not responsible directly to the president, but to him through another."

"Very few administrative troubles grow out of matters of real substance. When something genuinely important is involved all concerned make an effort to take a sane, long-range view. It is when the issues are essentially trivial—the cost of a clogged drain—that restraints are thrown off and donnybrook supervenes. All too often the prime movers in these irritations are the controller and the registrar. I came to accept the offices as necessary evils—often held by very fine men whose personal charm was equaled only by their official prickliness."

"A president is a public figure. He should make clear that his views are not necessarily those of his faculty colleagues or trustees. Once he has made those points explicit he should speak his mind, if he has one. It should be done on most matters with persuasive good temper; but there are occasions when indignation and even wrath are not only appropriate but necessary."

"A sense of humor, quiet discipline of students who go too far, and silence before one's critics seem to be the best prescription for a college president."

"The main theme to expound to the public is the educational objective, and the means for attaining it. In season and out of season, year after year, hammer away at that theme."

"It is an arduous life. . .Again and again at the end of the academic year, I was spent, physically and spiritually. Hang on, get through commencement, then relax enough to recover energy and faith; that was the prescription. For thirty years it worked, sometimes by a narrow margin, at others by a wide one."

"People who knew of the enormous strains that go with the job have asked, many times, 'Would you do it again?' Of course I would; I could do no other. The opportunities so far outweigh the heartbreaks that to evade the responsibility would be folly."

Source: Henry W. Wriston, *Academic Procession: Reflections of a College President* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1959), 16, 19–20, 44, 70, 99, 112, 152–153, 155, 216, 219, 221–222.

Harold W. Stoke, President, Queens College, New York (1958–1964):

"A new president's first discoveries are little ones. He finds himself the object of new and flattering attentions. His little jokes and witticisms are greeted with more laughter than they are worth—'loyalty laughter,' some genius has called it. His opinions carry more weight; he may freely interrupt other conversations, but his own must not be interrupted. His casual questions may be interpreted as the forerunners of an investigation, and a complimentary or critical remark will sprout wings and fly immediately to its object. At any social gathering he is scrutinized for signs of health, weariness, pleasure, or boredom, and others always walk the second mile for his convenience.

"These intimate little discoveries are but the advance notices of more serious ones. The first and most shocking is the loss of his freedom of speech. It is a wonderful paradox that the more power, the less freedom; that the man who theoretically should be able to say whatever comes into his mind has the least freedom of speech of all. The college president begins to understand Rousseau: one thinks himself the master of others, yet remains a greater slave than they."

"A college president quickly learns to be a man of calculated speech, not only in his casual conversation but in his official communications as well. A show of feeling on his part, a touch of personal sensitivity, a sarcastic quip, can alter the tone of a faculty or committee meeting and leave a residue of warning which will adversely affect future meetings. This is as true for what he writes as for what he says. The president who learns early that no letters he writes are safely private will save himself much trouble. Sooner or later the consequences of what he writes in letters or in speeches will have to be faced—he can never write without unseen readers of unknown identity looking over his shoulder, and unseen audiences will overhear what he says. Presidents must learn to say and to write nothing until they are deliberately ready to accept the consequences.

"Even more dismaying is the president's discovery that he is a man of many acquaintances but few friends. The reason is simple: friendship is possible only between equals, and a college or university has only one president. Henry Adams stated long ago that a friend in power is a friend lost. If a president is chosen from

within his institution, his old and close friendships will wither, and if he comes from outside, his new position will not allow him to form them . . .The first responsibility of good administration is justice, and the requirements of justice and of friendship are incompatible.

"Robbed of his freedom of speech and left with acquaintances in lieu of friends, a college president, however gregarious outwardly, is a lonely man. Since, as Aristotle said, men, to live alone, must be gods or beasts, presidents escape their dilemma largely by forming their warming friendships outside academic relationships or by seeking the company of their fellow presidents. College presidents form a tight club, not because they wish to be deliberately exclusive, but because they cannot or are not allowed to be comfortable members of any club other than their own."

"Another surprising discovery for the college president is to find how little of his time, thought, and energy goes into education. Trevelyan once remarked that whenever a writer or an artist produced a work of genius, the whole world became a conspiracy to wine and dine him in order to see to it that he never did it again. So it is with college presidents. Selected as they are because it is believed that they have minds and personalities which can exert influence upon education, they find themselves absorbed in a round of social activities."

"The personalities of presidents are eventually shaped by the demands of their occupations. There is no escape; there are only variations in degree. The habits of reticence and of calculated personal relationships tend to destroy spontaneity and to make sincerity difficult. The presidential necessity for self-protection against curiosity and self-seeking can breed dreadful professionalism of manner: the resort to the trivial conversation piece, the dominating control of every group to avoid unsafe topics. The exercise of authority leaves its mark, and the sense of being different can create an unhealthy appetite for attention or, conversely, make one suspicious of accepting even the friendly gesture. A president who can make his way through the pitfalls of his occupation, remaining natural and unspoiled, is fortunate in his inner resources.

"While these personal adjustments of a college president and his family are sometimes irksome, they are happily accompanied by other aspects of the position which help to offset them. Although the personal social life of the president is constricted, his institutional social life expands. He is in great demand for all kinds of occasions. Most presidents are, by nature, perhaps more socially

inclined than not, and even impersonal institutional social life can bring them considerable enjoyment."

"One of the most interesting things about a college is the company it keeps, the constant flow of visitors who come to its campus. There are the lecturers and concert artists, the visiting professors, the public officials, and foreign visitors, the prospective faculty members invited for inspection, representatives of professional societies and foundations, returning alumni, and the vast number of unclassified. It is the president's privilege to meet them all, and a very large proportion make the privilege a reward. If the president cannot read books, he can talk to his visitors and he can listen. A luncheon can give him a lesson on art, on politics, on the climate of the Gold Coast, or on insect life. If he encounters bores, he can comfort himself that his is the most educational position in the college and that he is getting the education. His personal curriculum is broader and his teachers are more numerous than those of anyone else in the college.

"Being a public figure may not be equally enjoyable to every president, but it does bring him into contact with other public figures. It is a rich personal experience. Over the years a college president may thus meet the great personalities of his generation at home or from abroad, a privilege which he will owe largely to his position."

Source: Harold W. Stoke, *The American College President* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 21–25, 30–32.

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Harold W. Dodds, President, Princeton University (1933–1957):

"*Educational leadership, the president's prime function.* Some hold that the president of the future will not be able to function as an educator at all, indeed that it is futile for him to try. Let him find some good deans, they say, and delegate all educational problems to them. Then he may devote himself to his supporting functions, with—presumably—the bonus of a certain ritualistic grandeur on ceremonial occasions, such as commencements or convocations honoring distinguished personages. If this view be correct, the outlook for higher education is far more dismal than we are prepared to admit. We cannot conceive that the president, as the number one man in the organization, can delegate to aca-

demic vice presidents, provosts, and deans an overriding responsibility toward the university's primary role.

"Instead of devoting himself chiefly to secondary activities, we believe that the president must preserve his educational leadership, that it must indeed be enhanced. This is not to suggest that these activities are not part of an institution's educational success or that the president can or should divest himself of final accountability for their efficient operation. But in no area can he do it all himself; he must entrust wise discretion to others. He reveals where his heart lies and sets the character of his administration by the choice he makes between those functions to which he gives his most personal, intimate, and continuing attention and those which he more generally leaves to others. We believe that implicit in the office he holds is the duty to participate actively in framing and carrying out the teaching and scholarly policies of his institution.

"In so doing, a president will have to fight for time to contend with the public's conception of him as a sort of Jack-of-all-trades whose services should be available on call. Accordingly, certain answers to how he can be an educator do not rest with him alone but with trustees, alumni, the academic community, and the public generally. Substantial modification of their demands will take the combined efforts of all segments of his constituency. In many it will be a slow educational process of creating a better understanding of his true role; but it is essential nevertheless. Some presidents are more favored with understanding constituencies than others, but if the guild of presidents sets its mind to it, it could modulate extravagant expectations which usurp time that should be devoted to the teaching and scholarly growth of our colleges and universities.

"In the last analysis, however, some of the most crucial solutions lie within the control of the incumbent himself. It is all too true that some presidents find in the supporting activities greater satisfaction than their primary educational function affords. When a president is more eager to sit down and discuss plans for revising the curriculum with a visitor than to show off new buildings, we can be pretty sure that he has strong educational aspirations."

"*Some limits and latitudes of the president.* Granted that the president cannot eliminate all external stresses that press on him, granted that he cannot ignore all minor internal problems or leave them on his desk in the hope that they will go away or solve

themselves, he still has latitude—not often fully realized or exercised—in the *how, when,* and *who* of handling these matters, and he can even establish an order of priority as to *what* is to be given his personal attention."

"Naturally, no president completely escapes grubby details. What he must watch is that he is not confusing sheer activity with a sense of accomplishment."

"Nevertheless, the president who makes a realistic analysis of his strengths and limitations in relation to his job and forms a determination not to spend his talents on minor issues will be rewarded by an immediate increment in educational influence."

"*The climates of presidential succession.* New brooms sweep clean. Or at least they raise more dust than old ones. After the first wave of approval or dismay over his selection, the new president faces the first question: Where would I be wise to begin?

"If he follows a 'giant' in office, he must prove that his capabilities are adequate, if different from his predecessor's. If he is young and follows a respected and popular president, he may suffer some invidious comparisons, but he can take heart in the cruel fact that retired, resigned, or dead presidents are usually soon forgotten.*

"Following a notable president ususally means that the successor is heir to a valuable institutional momentum. He is fortunate if his predecessor's success was not solely personal but was achieved with the help of a workable administrative structure and an effective organization. He can then rely upon momentum to carry on normal functions during his first, tentative year.

"In the folklore of the presidency there is a widely current notion that the worse the plight of the institution, the greater the opportunity of the president to achieve personal success. An institution which has been led into difficulty by its former president may afford an opportunity for his successor to look well by contrast at the start; but as soon as the new president attacks some serious matter, any relative advantage he enjoys is evanescent. While they can be valuable as guides to future conduct, the shortcomings and failures of a predecessor are hardly to be regarded as godsend.

"Perhaps the easiest president to follow in office is one who has not been personally popular but who has succeeded in keeping the college or university in good order, gaining in strength, and

*"Except, perhaps, if the former president himself retires to an adjacent office where, as he becomes an adviser to the trustees and ambassador-at-large, he complicates his successor's life under the illusion that he is helping."

'on target.' He has left a good legacy. Unfortunate personal quirks—such as impatience, aloofness, severity, impersonality, a grouchy disposition, or an irritating egoism—will not obscure his solid accomplishments. His successor may be a more gregarious type, but he had better not rely on charm for success.

"Presidents who take office after an interregnum, or following a president who exhausted his physical and mental capital long before he retired, may have to contend with special problems. As a president approaches the end of a long term, he becomes properly sensitive regarding commitments which will bind his successor. At the same time, he does not want the institution to lose momentum. He tends to establish ad interim policies which, wise or unwise, often carry over to the next administration. At worst, under temporary leadership, a form of chaos may develop. This in turn will require the next president to devote a disproportionate amount of time to regularizing the university's operational procedures and coordinating the work of reluctant administrators who had been enjoying a season free of firm direction.

"In our view, among the most difficult of all persons to follow is one who, long in service, has become the idol of his constituents. This is a phenomenon found more often in small colleges, where students are more apt to be sentimental about their presidents. Although successive heads of colleges and universities are not likely to engender a tradition of hero worship, where idolatry does exist, it may be that one successor must intervene before another can command enough respect from the hero's followers to be accepted as their leader. In any event, the man who follows a popular one, loved for his personal qualities, for colorful—perhaps carefully cultivated—idiosyncrasies, or for the fame he has brought the institution, must be prepared to endure a trying period. He will be the victim of searching comparisons, a lot of them unfair. A sense of humor will help him to keep his perspective. It may also save him from becoming an involuntary human sacrifice to the memory of his predecessor.

"Perhaps this is as good a place as any to urge a new president to treat the memory of his predecessor kindly. He may find as he grows older that his first impressions require substantial correction, that his earlier opinions—worse, his earlier utterances—were naively unjust. 'Let him not boast who puts his armor on as he who puts it off.' Neglect of this admonition will bring adverse criticism even from the critics of his predecessor."

"*Presidential satisfactions: The president makes a difference.* Let no president assume that his office does not make a difference. It is said that the cudgeling the presidency has received within and without the academic world deters able young men from undertaking it. Still, it enjoys unique influence and prestige simply because no matter how democratic a society of scholars may be or however consultative its processes, the role of chief executive remains indispensable. Further, practical experience has demonstrated that it is played best when it is unitary and not collegial."

"It is not accidental that notable steps forward in higher education have been identified with the names of individuals and still are. The fact that the correlation between the pace-setting colleges and universities and those with broad faculty autonomy is less than absolute is no argument for a weak president. In a democracy the one appointed to lead must lead. Never in living history has it been clearer that academic democracy, in company with our political democracy, will flourish or decline in proportion to its capacity to select and utilize its leaders.

"Sooner or later a self-examining president has moments when he wonders why he ever took the job or what he is accomplishing that someone else could not do better. He will suffer attacks of loneliness; he will be irritated by days that slip completely away from his planned use of them. He will not win every tilt and tussle. His administrative grind and the pressures demanding response may make him feel like a captive squirrel in a revolving cage. He knows that one does not succeed merely by being busy. His accomplishment will be determined largely by how well he selects the strategic points at which to apply himself, how well he delegates less critical matters to others."

"*The office is rich in satisfactions.* Contrary to some well-publicized opinion, the office is rich in personal and intellectual satisfactions. To attack it as devoid of such joys or even as anti-intellectual, as some have, is unrealistic and naive. Obviously its rewards are not those of the specialized scholar pursuing some fragment of new truth in library or laboratory, but they are real. The life of a scholar is not the only life of the intellect. As one president remarked, 'I rarely think as hard or as fast as when I am out trying to get a million dollars. To assume that educational policy is made only in the classroom, or that the only rewards are there, is wrong.'"

"Unless one values rewards such as these, he will become bored toward his main responsibilities and find his outlet in preoccupation with the more practical problems of housekeeping or succumb to an appetite for sitting on platforms. The president who spends most of his time doing things which come hard to him—whether it be work with people such as trustees, faculty, students, alumni, or the public at large, or necessary observance of administrative procedures—is making a too costly and probably unfruitful sacrifice for whatever satisfaction he derives from being called 'Mr. President.'

"But if his basic devotion is to education, the successful president will be sustained by the satisfactions derived from his relationship with faculty, trustees, and alumni and its culmination in progress for the institution. He will have to forgo the joys of specialized research, but he can find intellectual satisfactions in being a generalist in a world in which specialists are a dime a dozen. He will identify in the graduates and their achievements the influence of the university he is privileged to lead as its chief executive. These things will bring him happiness."

Source: Harold W. Dodds, *The Academic President—Educator or Caretaker?* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962), 2–3, 25–29, 32–35.

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Eric Ashby, Master, Clare College, Cambridge University (1959–1975), and Vice Chancellor, Cambridge University (1967–1969):

"The art of using authority is to secure consent. The good administrator is not a boss but a persuader."

"*Administrators must administer.* This seems a superfluous thing to say, but it isn't. When there is a rigid hierarchy of authority, administrators have no alternative but to administer. . . But in an organization like a university, where decision-making and authority are so diffused, the administrator is under a great temptation not to make decisions at all. For decision-making is very wearing and a considerable strain on the character. Even a little decision like deciding to put up the wages of the janitors is wearing; for you may think you have decided to put up the wages of the janitors, when in fact what you have done in the eyes of a lot of people is to decide *not* to put up the wages of the porters, the night watchmen, the stenographers, the gardeners, and the waitresses in the dining room. Furthermore, there are often committees to whom responsibility can be passed. . . As a matter of experience, collective decision-

making without leadership encourages a drift toward mediocrity."

"*Administrators must refrain from making decisions which other people ought to make.* In industry or in a government department there is a hierarchy of decisions controlled from above. . . In universities most decisions at the level of departments are not like this at all. In a university department of chemistry, for instance, decisions about what shall be taught and what research shall be done have no reference whatever to most decisions made for the university as a whole. A president who issued directives to his professor of chemistry on research or curriculum would be regarded in Britain as in need of psychiatric treatment. Over such decisions as these (and they are in the long run the most important in the university) he has no authority and he must encourage the maximum diffusion of responsibility."

"*Administrators must conceal their bright ideas.* If a British university president has a bright idea (and he does have bright ideas in his early years of office), it would be the height of ineptitude to publish it to his faculty, and fatal to issue a directive about it. He must unobtrusively—if possible, anonymously—feed it into the organization, at quite a low level, informally over lunch, and watch it percolate slowly upwards. With luck it will come on to his desk months later for approval, and he must greet it with the pleased surprise which parents exhibit when their children show them what Santa Claus has brought them for Christmas. To do this over some reform urgently needed in the organization requires a singular degree of equanimity."

"*Administrators must acknowledge divided loyalties.* The task of the administrator to promote the purpose of a university or a research institute is complicated by the fact that his senior colleagues inevitably have to divide their loyalties between their profession and the institution they serve. . .The university president has to make very large allowances for those areas of interest where [faculty] loyalty to the profession and loyalty to the institution do not coincide. His skill is to balance the centrifugal forces of individuality which tend to pull the institution apart, against centripetal forces—largely generated by himself—which tend to preserve the integrity of the institution."

Source: Eric Ashby, "The Scientist as University President" (The Arthur Compton Memorial Lecture, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., 13 May 1964).

William E. (Bud) Davis, President of Idaho State University (1965–1975) and of the University of New Mexico (1975–1982); Chancellor, Oregon State System of Higher Education (1982–):

"As a football coach and later as a college president, I have lived in two different worlds. From time to time, however, these unlikely and dissimilar backgrounds have overlapped, and there have been variations on themes that have woven in and out of both professions.

"One of the many lessons gleaned from coaching is a primitive instinct for survival and a cat-like knack of landing on your feet when flipped head over teakettle by a threshing machine. And in the eye of the threshing machine that characterizes the life of an administrator on the turbulent college campus today, I figure a president can well afford a little combat experience.

"Prominent in the coach's survival kit is maintaining a sense of humor. He learns that the quick quip is often better than a quick kick in softening the blow of irate criticism.

"For example, when a highly-touted team has had a catastrophic season, the coach can muse: 'I can't honestly say any one player caused this. It truly was a team effort.' The president can use the same comeback in reviewing the causes of a campus riot.

"Or, when a beleaguered coach is asked if a complicated new play he is diagramming for the Booster Club would win for his team, he replies, 'No, but it is the one with which we can lose with dignity.' The president can follow the same line in his budget presentation to the legislature.

"Both the coach and the president learn to treasure togetherness. Take the case of the confused coach who called a bonehead play in the heat of the game. Disgustedly, he asked himself, 'Now, why did I call a play like that?' He looked in the stands and realized that 40,000 people were wondering the same thing. It was a great feeling of togetherness.

"The same thought must run through the mind of the college president as he floats through the air after deciding to ignore a threat from dissident factions that the administration building had been bombed."

"When humor fails, the coach knows he had better get up off the floor and fight again. In one of the low points of my brief coaching career at Colorado, my team had just been massacred by

Oklahoma, 62 to 0. I received a kindly note from Jacob Van Ek, the Dean Emeritus of the College of Arts and Sciences. He called to my attention the Scottish hero, John Armstrong, who said to his men after a hard day's battle,

> 'Fight on, fight on, my merry men all.
> I'm hurt a little, but I am not slain.
> I'll lay me down and bleed awhile;
> Then I'll arise and fight again.'"

"The coach and the president have other things in common, like anxiety about keeping their jobs. A football coach hit hard by graduation was asked by a persistent sports writer, 'Coach, who would you most like to see back next year?' The coach eagerly replied, 'Me!'

"I understand this sentiment. Recently, when learning of the violent and unceremonious manner in which a college president had been separated from his job, the thought ran through my mind, 'Good grief! They treated him like a *losing* coach.'"

"I *like* being a college president—so much so that I have resolved never to be among those who complain about the long hours, the impossible demands, the ungrateful faculty, the oppressive board, the restless students, or the recalcitrant alumni. As my old grandmother once told me, 'You knew all that when you hired out for the job.' And in terms of pressures and hardships, I well appreciate what it's like to be out of the uncertainty of coaching college football and into the relatively serene and tranquil life as a college president. Mostly it has been great fun. Not always—but, again, harking back to my former coaching career, I have learned that you can't lose them all.

"While never intending to belittle or demean the many serious aspects of being a college president, nor the appropriate demands on sincerity or dignity, nonetheless, I find that it often helps to step back and laugh at yourself or find some humor or good times to relish in the sometimes hectic tumult. So, come what may in the way of daily disaster, when someone asks how things are going on campus, I smile and reply, 'Just great!' This can give a big lift to one's supporters and confound one's enemies. And if, in times of crisis, you can come up grinning, those around you

never really know whether you have all the answers or just something devious up your sleeve."

Source: William E. (Bud) Davis, *Nobody Calls Me Doctor* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1972), 259–263.

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Theodore M. Hesburgh, President, University of Notre Dame, (1952–):

"*Administrative principles.* When my predecessor, Father John Cavanaugh, introduced me to the presidency, he gave me some very brief and very good advice that I will share with you today. May I say that I have tried to follow this advice and following it has in large measure accounted for whatever sanity and equilibrium I still maintain after all these years.

"First, Father John said, the heart of administration is making decisions. When you make a decision, however large or small, do not ask, 'What is the easy thing to do?' or 'What will cost the least money?' or 'What will make me most loved or popular by those affected by the decision?' Just ask what is the *right* decision, all things considered. Once you have made that judgment—and you'll make it better once you have been burned a few times—then just do it, decide it, no matter how difficult it is, no matter how costly, no matter how unpopular. In the long run, whatever the immediate uproar or inconveniences, people, your people, will respect you for following your conscience, for doing what you thought right, even though they do not agree with you. No other position is in the least way defensible, even in the short run. As Winston Churchill once said so well: 'The only guide to a man is his conscience. The only shield to his memory is the rectitude and sincerity of his actions. It is very imprudent to walk through life without this shield, because we are so often mocked by the failure of our hopes; but with this shield [of conscience] whatever our destiny may be, we always march in the ranks of honor.' Martin Luther said the same thing more briefly, 'Here I stand.'

"Every decision is not, of course, a great moral crisis. But I have found few decisions that did not have a moral dimension that could only be ignored with considerable risk, not just for oneself, but particularly for justice, whose final spokesmen all presidents are. When the president abdicates this fundamental responsibility, people are hurt.

"One sees easily that what this attitude often calls for in the president is personal courage, often lonely courage, because everyone else below has passed the buck. If a person does not have the courage to stand alone, quite often, sometimes daily during times of crisis, then the presidency can be an agony. Without courage, it is always a failure. Of that I am sure.

"The president's situation is unique. Politicians try to please everybody; presidents must please their conscience, ultimately God. Budget officers understandably try to find the most economical solution. It is not always the right one. Cowards, of course, seek the easy, undemanding path. Pasternak said in *Doctor Zhivago* that 'gregariousness is the refuge of the mediocre.' The uncertain always walk in a crowd. The leader most often finds himself marching single file at the head of a thin column. If you are to be a good president, you will often enough find yourself in that situation, which brings me to the second Cavanaugh principle for the presidency: Don't expect a lot of praise or plaudits for what you do. If you need continual compliments to sustain you, you are in for a great surprise and letdown, because you are not going to get many thanks, even for the best things you do, the best decisions you make. Face it. People, as a group, are fickle, often insensitive, and the academic community is made up of people. As the Congressman running for re-election was asked by a farmer he had helped greatly in the past: 'What have you done for me lately, and what will you do for me tomorrow?'

"In the last analysis, this sound principle reverts to the first: You make a decision simply because it is right in your judgment, not because someone will be grateful to you for making it. I grant you this is a difficult truism to accept because we are all human beings who enjoy an occasional pat on the back. I must assure you it is more realistic to expect numerous kicks in another part of your anatomy when you make a mistake. Criticism will be a far greater part of your presidential life than plaudits and gratitude. As John Cavanaugh said, you will sleep better if you recognize that from the beginning and don't count disappointment and personal hurt by expecting what you will not get.

"One of the best early decisions I made elicited one letter of thanks from several hundred faculty members who were greatly benefited by the decision. I thought it might get better as the years passed, but, believe me, it does not. Better to expect very little because that is what you will get in the way of praise or thanks.

Once you accept this fact, then you can get on with doing what you do because it is the right thing to do. Besides, you get paid more than all the others, and they may think that is thanks enough. Whether it is or not, it will have to do, so accept what is, and don't be hurt.

"The third bit of advice was very apropos because I was young and feisty at the time, also supremely confident as the young, thank God, always are. Cavanaugh principle number three was:

> "'Don't think you can do very much all by yourself. There are too many of them and only one of you. Leadership may appear to be a man on a white horse leading the multitude, but you'll do a lot better if you get off the horse and entice the best of the multitude to join you up front.'

"Of course, every leader has to have a personal vision of where he or she wants to lead, but just having it won't do it. Effective leadership means getting the best people you can find to share the vision and to help in achieving it. Whether you are talking about being President of the United States or president of Willow Grove College, the principle is equally valid. You cannot do it alone, all by yourself. You may be very intelligent, exceptionally talented, good looking, charismatic, whatever. You still need help, the very best help you can find. The third principle says: Find them quickly, and invite them aboard.

"I remember, after hearing this, picking the five best people available and making them all vice presidents. They were all older than I was. Some were more intelligent. They all possessed talents that I lacked. They often disagreed with me, and often they were right, so I changed my mind. It was not always easy working with them, but it would have been impossible without them. They saved my life more times than I like to remember. My present associates are still saving my life today.

"Cavanaugh added a few subthoughts to this third principle that one cannot be a good president all by himself or herself, making all the decisions unilaterally or intuitively, initiating everything all by yourself, always thinking and acting alone. Only God does that, and I believe even He is a trinity of persons. Cavanaugh's three subthoughts were varied, but very valid in later experience:

- "Don't think that you are the indispensable man or woman. 'The day you leave, someone else will be doing your job,'

he said, 'and quite probably doing it better.' That rankled my pride, but I accepted it. I still do. Humility is not just a nice virtue; it is the truth. The cemeteries of the world are full of indispensable men and women, but somehow the world goes on. So does the world of colleges and universities.

• "Be sure that all those who help you achieve your vision receive a large share of the credit. It should not always be, 'The president announces.' Let a few others announce, too, especially, let them announce what they do successfully, and let them get what credit goes with it. Don't be afraid to be off center stage once in a while. And although you may not get many thanks, make a point of seeing that all those who work closely with you get thanked, at least by you. If there is any long-range credit for what is well done in your institution, you will eventually get your share, maybe at their expense, so make sure that they get a good word of gratitude from you, right now.

• "Never pass off on your associates all the dirty work of administration. Never let them pass their less tasty tasks to you either. As a general rule, you will and should take the blame in public for the large mistakes that would not have happened if you had been better informed, more involved, even more decisive. On the other hand, don't baby your associates when they tend to hide behind you—or get you to do what they find unpleasant. Tell them that you will handle your own unpleasant duties and that they will handle theirs. I once had a doorman who couldn't bring himself to tell people not to park in front of the University Inn where there was a large 'No Parking' sign. After I chided him, his way out was to say to all comers, 'Father Hesburgh doesn't want you to park here.' After I heard of this, I said to him, 'I'll make a deal with you. I won't interfere with the parking, if you don't use me to do it right.'

"The fourth principle was not spoken so much as lived by my predecessor. When an author in Renaissance Italy, around the time of Machiavelli, wanted to write about the science of governance, he asked the best governor he knew, the Duke of Mantua, what was the most important quality of the person who governs well. The Duke quickly answered in two words: *Essere umano*, to be human.

"That may seem to be an oversimplification at first glance. After thinking about it, in the light of much experience, I would say that it strikes at the heart of what a good president should be, simply human. Those presidents who are generally unsuccessful

often fail from lack of humanity. They lose the loyalty of those with whom they live and work. All our dealings are with people, all kinds of people: people who are intelligent and not so intelligent; people who are good or bad, but generally a mixture of both; people who have hopes, dreams, feelings, frustrations; people who are happy or unhappy; people who are satisfied or dissatisfied; people who generally want something that we can or cannot give. All of them deserve something from us that we can give, no matter what the outcome of our decisions—namely, to be treated as human beings, to be understood, even when that is difficult, to be accorded basic human consideration and compassion, even when they abuse our human dignity. In a word, people deserve to be treated with humane sensitivity, even when all our inclinations push us toward brusque rejection, not only of their proposals, but of them as persons. The president has to suffer fools, if not gladly, at least patiently.

"Animals govern by growling or biting; human dictators rule by sheer force, terror, or quick punishment, even death. That is not what is or should be expected in a community of learners and teachers who have long been characterized by rationality, civility, urbanity, friendship, but, especially, humanity toward one another, even when they are intellectually or morally in disagreement.

"There is a humane way of saying no, of denying an impassioned request, of telling someone that he or she has failed and will be terminated. There is a humane way of upholding a deeply held conviction, even when it is under brutal attack. One can be forceful and humane at the same time. But it is not easy.

"It may be that the most difficult problem for a president is to be humane while doing many unpleasant, but necessary things that seem to others to be inhumane. *Essere umano*, to be human, a great quality in anyone having power over others. Power will not corrupt such a person."

"*Pleasing each constituency*. I would now like to declare myself on some very specific opportunities and challenges that face every college or university president. The easiest way to do so is to discuss in some detail the relationships between the president and his central constituencies: the trustees, the faculty, the students. You have all heard the facetious comment that a successful president gives each group what it wants, the alumni, championship

teams; the faculty, parking; and the students, sex. I find this cynical as well as bad policy.

"The trustees are in a juridical sense the most important constituency, for they have, in our American structure for higher education, the very important task of setting basic policies for the administration of what is essentially a public trust. The trustees do not administer the institution, but their most important task is to see that it is well administered. Having selected and appointed the president, the least they should expect of him is honesty and clarity of purpose, even when the trustees may not agree. Disagreement there often may be between a president and his trustees, but never deceit.

"There are times when a president will have to try to change trustees' minds regarding basic policy. At least he should leave no doubt about where he stands. Trustees need to be informed clearly and forcefully, on a continuing basis, regarding the institution's most basic needs. The president must resist when trustees interfere in the administration, attempting to govern rather than ensure good government. I have found that this stance is both appreciated and supported by trustees. A spirit of confidence on the part of a president begets confidence on the part of trustees.

"Trustees should share bad as well as good news, problems as well as successes. Sometimes a president should simply admit that he or she made a mistake. Most of the trustees I know do not expect perfection of a president, just competent effort and honest accounting of stewardship. In occasional times of great crisis, trustees must be reminded by a president that they are the court of last resort, that they must take a corporate stand, that no one is going to follow the sound of an uncertain trumpet.

"There may even come a time when the president must say to the trustees, because only he or she can, 'Here I stand.' It may be the end of the relationship, but rarely is. Even trustees, or maybe especially trustees, respect integrity.

"All in all, this has not been in my experience a difficult relationship, even though the president is always in the middle between the trustees and the rest of the institution. He must interpret both sides to each other, preserving the confidence of each side. I should admit that I have always been blessed with intelligent and competent trustees, well versed in the problems of higher education. Had it been otherwise, I might be telling a different story, although I believe my principles of operation would be the same.

"The faculty is, from an educational point of view, the most important constituency of the president. Educationally, the faculty makes the institution what it is, good or bad or in between. The faculty is also the president's most difficult constituency. He is its leader, but the trustees appoint him. Every day of every year, year in and year out, the president must prove himself to the faculty. Especially in a large institution, there is no such thing as a completely cordial and trusting relationship. The president is, in some sense, the symbolic adversary, since he is ultimately the bearer of whatever bad news comes to the faculty these days.

"On the positive side, and more important, he must proclaim to faculty members, in season and out, his vision of their institution, what it is and what it might yet be. Only they can make his dream come true, and only if they are convinced will they cooperate in the venture. In a word, he must create trust—no easy task, given the climate.

"There is no leadership here by edict. All faculty members consider themselves his equal, if not his better, intellectually. Persuasion is the best mode of leadership where the faculty is involved. They must be part and parcel of the total educational process.

"There are no easy answers here. Most presidents have been members of a teaching and research faculty and thus are fully conscious of the hopes and aspirations, as well as the very special nature of that body called faculty, made up of people who think otherwise.

"And yet, they too must be led by the president. He must find a theme of unity in their diversity. He must inspire them, challenge them, question them, reason with them, occasionally say 'no' to them, but, above all, he must persuade them to give their best talents and their most creative efforts to the realization of his educational vision.

"This assumes, of course, that the president does have a clear vision for the institution, a vision that is educationally sound and integral, given the available resources. You cannot turn Pugwash into Princeton overnight. Whatever else he is clear and enthusiastic about, the president must most of all elaborate his specific vision, rethink it as times change, perfect it as he learns from experience or develops new resources. He may be the best administrator in the world, but without a clear and bright and, yes, beautiful vision, he is leading nowhere. Without a vision, the people perish. Each president will have his own style; but beyond all style must be substance. If a president cannot intelligently discuss education with

his faculty, nothing else he discusses will matter. He will simply lose the faculty, and he will be unable to lead them anywhere, certainly not to the promised land.

"The normal faculty criticisms of a president are many and varied, often contradictory. If he is always home, he is a nobody; if he is often away, he is neglecting his homework. If he spends little time with faculty members, he is aloof; if he spends much time with them, he is interfering in their proper business. If he balances the budget, he is stingy; if he cannot balance the budget, he is irresponsible and incompetent. If he is big on fringe and retirement benefits, the younger faculty can't meet their expenses; if he stresses faculty raises, the older faculty are impoverished on retirement. If he spends much time on fund raising, he is a huckster; if he doesn't, the financial situation gets worse. In a word, it is Scylla and Charybdis every day. We might as well admit that willy-nilly, the president will always be between the rock and the hard place.

"Having admitted this, let us also admit that there is no better association in the world than a good academic relationship where civility rules disagreement and where comradeship is very real in an endeavor as fundamentally exalted as higher education. Despite all the normal and natural tensions between a good faculty and a good administration, this is in itself a healthy tension productive of an unusually good symbiotic effect—better governance by mutual understanding of the tasks proper to each.

"I could understate the situation by saying that administrators should mainly administer and professors should mainly teach. When either intrudes unnecessarily on the other's task, both tasks are unduly complicated and rendered impossible. There are many other schemes of governance discussed widely and promoted actively today. In fact, sandbagging the administration by a constant threat of collective bargaining has become a popular indoor sport in colleges and universities. Despite this, I have yet to hear of any form of governance as good as what we generally have, especially when intelligently and competently administered, with the faculty deeply involved in the formation of educational policy and the administration sensitively and forcefully administering this policy, even prodding occasionally for a change of policy. Both functions are indispensable, the forming and the effecting of educational policy mutually agreed upon. There are, of course, many other tasks that the faculty and administration must do separately.

Here, mutual understanding and cooperation are the order of the good day in academe."

"*Concern for students.* Having already specified two constituencies as the most important, do not be surprised if I declare that the students, as the main reason for which our institutions exist, are also, in that sense, a most important constituency of the president. Their needs and desires do not always coincide with those of the trustees and faculty, but they too must be heard."

"The greatest gift a president can give his students is the example of his life. One could say the same of faculty members, but the president is in a highly visible position. He must be a kind of superprofessor to all the students. Young adults are, whether they admit it or not, looking for public models of the kind of person they would like to become. While the president cannot be a super 'in loco parentis person,' he cannot avoid transmitting to students the fact that he does or does not care deeply about the kinds of persons they are becoming, the interests and attitudes they presently portray, the concerns that bite deeply into their youthful hopes.

"Despite anything he says, the president will declare much more by how he lives, the concerns he exemplifies, the causes he supports, the public service he renders. There are great moral issues facing young and old alike today. In an educational setting, one would hope that values would be all important and that the young would perceive clearly where we elders stand on issues such as human rights, world poverty and hunger, good government, preserving the fragile ecosphere, strengthening marriage and family life.

"The president should also be deeply concerned that his students are being educated for tomorrow, not for yesterday; that they do emerge from the whole process knowing how to think, write, speak, and organize themselves effectively; that they have a sense of values and judge their world by reason and justice with love and not by blind emotional instinct; finally, that they have situated themselves and are at peace with themselves as they are and are becoming, as men and women, as Protestants, Catholics, or Jews, as members of a Western world that is part of a much poorer, less human, underdeveloped, and increasingly interdependent world. One would hope that beyond competence in doing something to earn a living, students would emerge from our institutions with some compassion for and commitment to the improvement of the larger, less favored world around them. If we, as presidents,

do not show these concerns in our own lives and works, then I doubt that our students will take any of our words very seriously.

"Each president will have to find some realistic and personal way of maintaining a continuing conversation with his students, not only for their benefit but mainly for his own. Students will keep a president alive and honest, for they have an extraordinary radar for detecting double talk and the irrelevant. One must always level with them.

"I believe that under the pressure of the student revolution, there were too many concessions made to the bohemian type of students. It is time and overtime to revert to a student way of life that is more wholesome and less unstructured. I know of no way of building character without adhering to a definite set of moral standards and values that make for the good life. We have cast aside too many of these standards and values, like honesty, sobriety, fidelity, justice, and magnanimity. I believe many students, quite different from those of the late 1960s, would welcome a change, a reestablishment of student standards. Change will not come without presidential leadership.

"I could, but will not, speak at length of other constituencies of the president: the alumni who are the best evidence of our productive and continuing efforts, the public who largely gave birth to our institutions and generously support them when we win their appreciation of our work. Both are important. I could also speak of the government, local, state, and federal, that today has such impact, maybe too much, on our institutions. However, I have said enough in these personal reflections on the presidency."

Source: Theodore M. Hesburgh, "On Becoming a Leader," Chap. 1 of *The Hesburgh Papers* (Kansas City; Mo.: Andrews and McMeel, 1979), 2–11. Used with permission of Sheed & Ward, 115 E. Armour Blvd., Kansas City, Mo. 64141.

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Donald E. Walker, President, Southeastern Massachusetts University (1972–1984); President, Grossmont College (California, 1984–):

"According to legend, at the request of a dying king, the royal Council of Sages once capsulized all wisdom in a single word—*perhaps*. For the effective college or university administrator, however, one such word of wisdom will hardly suffice. At least three general propositions, I would urge, deserve special attention:

- Respect the people with whom you work.
- Understand the university for which you work.
- Remember, as an administrator, why you are there.

"Even these admonitions, despite their basic worth, may seem way too broad or lofty. For colleagues seeking practical advice for the everyday realities of their jobs, I offer the following observations or 'axioms'. . . .

- The university is filled with talented, sensitive human beings. Don't forget it. It is too easy to assume that people beneath you in the administrative structure are beneath you in other ways too.

- The job of administration is to call forth talent—to help people work in effective and constructive ways. Health and vitality come from the bottom up and one should take care not to stifle the sources of creativity.

- Those closest to the problem often have the best solutions. Consult them first.

- When problems become complicated, shorten the administrative lines. Get everyone concerned in the same room.

- An administrator works with the consent of the governed. The most reliable tools of the administrator are diplomacy and persuasion.

- Learn the values of persistence and patience. Too often administrators give up too soon.

- Don't underestimate the strength of a team. It is true— all of us together are smarter than any of us alone.

- Credit can and should be widely shared. Such sharing does not diminish individual accolades.

- The best administration proceeds on the assumption of health in the organization, rather than disease. Too often, pathological explanations of campus events reveal the absence of realistic views of how the organization actually works.

- The most important administrative task is not police duty but problem solving. The most important question is not who is responsible for our 'mistakes' but "how do we get better solutions for the problems before us?"

- The university is active and reactive. Understand the way it behaves and work *with* it, not against it.

- The secret of any organization is trust. Almost anything will work when enough trust is present. Without it, nothing works.

- Use the established channels for action. Haphazard approaches to problem solving breed confusion. Consistency is a form of integrity.

- Have a sense of direction even if it's necessary to change it frequently. Keep moving. The administrator's job is proactive.

- Don't become irrevocably committed to any single solution. There are many paths to the top of the hill.

- Don't try to keep secrets. Communicate, communicate, communicate. Problems are caused by what people *don't* know.

- When you're wrong, admit it. Almost everyone will know it anyway. Your capitulation will be seen as reasonableness, not weakness.

- Don't fight imaginary wars. Comic opera struggles over symbolic issues waste everyone's time.

- Get help from everyone, but ultimately trust yourself. Have the courage to make your own mistakes and to choose your own battles.

- Don't bully, threaten, or try to get even. Remember the words of Woody Allen: 'You can never get even with the world; it takes too long and too many lawyers.'

- Avoid cynicism and self-pity. Don't forget, you asked for the job.

• Be optimistic. It is not that pessimism is unjustified, but it will not sustain you or your institution.

• Don't stay too long. Survivors pay too high a price personally and exact too high a price from the university. Administrators are expendable.

• Make your plans for retreat from an administrative position in advance—if possible, when you sign on. A request for tenured professorship might be considered reasonable at the time of appointment, yet it could be perceived as a demand for special privilege at the time of resignation.

• Learn to accept and use criticism, even when it makes a hard pillow.

• Be fair. Don't choose sides. Don't have pets or villains.

• Help others along the way."

Source: Donald E. Walker, *The Effective Administrator,* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1979), 193–195.

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Herman B Wells, President, Indiana University (1937–1962).

"*Maxims for a Young College President.*"

"My first maxim is, Be Lucky.

"Remind yourself daily that general administration must always be the servant, never the master of the academic community. It is not an end unto itself and exists only to further the academic enterprise. It follows, therefore, that generally the least administration possible is the best.

"Inherit or recruit talented administrative colleagues who can excel you in performance, including your assistant and your vice presidents. Especially, find a financial vice president who believes it is his job to spend money wisely rather than to hoard it.

"Find a public-relations counselor in whom you have confidence for your close associate who has the ability and courage to tell you when you are wrong."

"The central administration should be a place to see how it can be done rather than why it cannot be done.

"Another very important maxim for a young president is to pick a state with a good, rich economy, few schools, and relatively low taxes. I don't have to explain this rule.

"Make board service an exciting intellectual experience for the board members and, above all else, a delightful social experience for their wives."

"Make sure you have board members who believe in quality and who are willing to pay for it. If you have board members who do not have this belief, you have failed in your first task as a teacher—the task of teaching your board members what they need to know.

"Never let you or your trustees get into the stance of being employers. It not only destroys faculty morale but allows the faculty to shift impossible responsibilities to the administration.

"Save time for student relationships of all types. You will learn more from them than they will from you . . .your sense of mission will be repeatedly refreshed and renewed.

"Honor the freshmen and sophomores no less than the graduate students. They pay the bills! They support the expensive academic tastes of the graduate faculty."

"In matters of student discipline, remember that the sap runs in the spring and be not filled with envy by recalling your own undergraduate days

"It is the ambition of each student editor to reform the university, so thank God that their terms are short and that when the next one comes he will have a different program."

"*General policies, internal and external.* Next to proliferation, uniformity is the greatest enemy of distinction—uniformity of treatment of departments, of individuals, and of subject matters. They are not all of equal quality, and to try to treat them all precisely alike is a great mistake.

"Recruitment is the most important of all presidential responsibilities; only second- and third-rate men are expensive. Recruitment, promotion, and retention of top men should be the first objective of every president.

"Be frank with the faculty on salaries and other financial matters. Without facts the faculty will accept rumors as truth.

"Create a climate of competitive productivity in teaching and research in both quality and quantity; men need to be stimulated to produce as much as they are capable of and to carry their share of the load."

"Academic freedom is not only essential for morale, teaching, and research; it is a priceless public-relations asset."

"Help build the private institutions in your state; they, in turn, will help you to build. Anyway, as a state university, you can afford to be generous."

"Don't let worry about events on other campuses distract you from the policies on your own."

"Rejoice in the other institution's success. . .The other fellow's victories help us all by establishing a higher general standard for university education."

"*The personal role of the president.* Professional longevity is essential. You can't win any institutional battles out of office.

"Be yourself while you are in office because, if you try to be anything else, you won't fool anybody but yourself."

"It is not what you do that counts, it is what you help others to do that makes progress.

"Don't resist your job. Go to meet it rather than stand aside from it. If you don't like to be president, resign; many others would like a crack at it."

"Work like hell because the job deserves it, needs it, and is worth it. Universities have been injured more by lazy presidents than by incompetent or dictatorial ones.

"Always be available to faculty and students for discussion of individual, personal problems because the deans, department heads, and others who are supposed to assume this responsibility rarely have time to do so.

"Attend as many informal social gatherings as possible on your campus. They are a great place to interpret policy, gather information, and express interest in individual plans and aspirations. Moreover, if things get a little rough when you are trying to defend policy, you can always move on to meet the next guest, which you cannot do if you talk it out in your office.

"If you read a little from time to time outside your professional field, it won't hurt you; you *may* get an idea, and the time you spend in reading will keep you from taking some action that would probably be unwise anyway.

"Be a good educational citizen—locally, nationally, and internationally. Somebody has to do the group work. By doing your share you will gain inspiration and ideas for your local job. You will likewise gain because the campus will not be bored with having you around all the time.

"Educate your board and your colleagues about your responsibilities for group work nationally and internationally."

"Be born with the physical charm of a Greek athlete, the cunning of Machiavelli, the wisdom of Solomon, the courage of a lion, if possible; but in any case be born with the stomach of a goat.

"Strive to avoid the deadly occupational disease of omniscience and omnipotence. Only the physician, surrounded by nurses and frightened families of ill patients, is as tempted as is a president to be omniscient and omnipotent.

"*On legislative, alumni, and public relations.* The first rule of public relations is never get into a contest with a skunk! If you do, you will never smell the same again. Most academic people have a fanatical urge to try to convince the bigot and put the world right. As president you must restrain your natural desire to convince bigots, remembering it takes two to make an argument. You leave your adversary impotent if you won't give him an opponent.

"Don't shirk your obligation to attend funerals. Your presence will be appreciated. Rarely do you have to make a speech. And in Indiana the 'Establishment' transacts an enormous amount of business in connection with important funerals.

"The faculty and students are the most effective public-relations representatives of a university. When they believe in their institution, they will tell the world of their enthusiasm."

"Pick a top man for alumni secretary who commands the respect and loyalty of the alumni and make him one of your inner circle."

"The importance of athletic success is a figment of the imagination of sports writers and sophomoric alumni. A member of the National Academy has more public-relations value than a championship team does, and, from a straight public-relations standpoint, I will trade two championships for a Nobel Laureate.

"Pride and prestige are more powerful legislative arguments than poverty is in securing funds.

"For the most part, legislators are dedicated public servants. As statesmen, of course, they like the role of founding fathers, so

unfortunately they would rather found an institution than pay for its upkeep.

"You must always remember that the ability of legislators to absorb entertainment is completely without limit. You can exhaust yourself on their behalf and they are still ready to go.

"Don't be afraid of the future of your institution; don't be afraid of the future of higher education."

"Quit when you are ahead. Try to incite some irate taxpayer to take a gun in hand and make you a martyr; remember history's treatment of Lincoln. But, if you aren't shot, you can always resign when you're ahead."

"The last maxim is, as is the first, Be lucky!"

Source: Herman B Wells, "Maxims for a Young College President" (remarks at the Annual Banquet Meeting of the National Association of State Universities, May 1962). In Herman B Wells, *Being Lucky: Reminiscences and Reflections* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 143–149.

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William H. Cowley, President, Hamilton College (1938–1944):

"The towering presidents of the period [1870–1910] were much more. . . than administrators. To a man, they studied higher educational history, observed European practices first hand, and proposed plans for meeting the rapidly changing educational requirements of the nation. In the best sense, they became social prophets; and by skillful public speaking, lucid writing, and adroit statesmanship, they persuaded their associates and the general public to share and to finance their visions. These encompassed a wide range of topics, but all radiated about the same axis, namely, the resolute aspiration to build not just colleges but, rather, great universities equal to those of Europe and especially of front-running Germany."

"In 1919, a group of professors established in New York a new higher educational institution called the New School for Social Research, which, they announced, would exemplify sound educational and administrative ideas. Among other things, they eliminated the office of president and handled its work through committees of professors. The plan did not work, and after two years they abandoned it, just as other institutions have done, because they discovered that they needed someone to give continuous and undisturbed

attention to what used to be called the ministerial function and what now more commonly goes by the name of facilitation. They saw that unless someone relieves professors of concern for the myriads of house-keeping minutiae involved in keeping a college in operation, they cannot perform their essential duties. In short, they needed a president if only as a facilitator to minister to their needs.

"In large institutions, presidents have many assistants to help them with their facilitation responsibilities; but in most small colleges, presidents are so badly staffed that they must, unfortunately, give most of their time to ministerial activities. The presidents of such colleges and, indeed, of many large universities are so bogged down in housekeeping duties that they have little if any time left for the major presidential functions of development and of leadership in policy making. They are unable to be educators because many professors and some trustees conceive of them chiefly as 'educaterers.'

"The catering obligations of the presidential office, even in a small college, should be handled by second-line administrators and not by the president. The facilitation activities of presidents should not extend beyond the development and establishment of a well-coordinated administrative structure. They should facilitate facilitation, but otherwise do nothing that can be done by some other member of the staff. Most of the time, they ought, figuratively if not literally, to have nothing on their desks but their feet and nothing on their minds but the basic problems of the enterprise and plans for resolving them.

"I resigned my college presidency when I discovered that no one in my institution had any such conception of the presidency. Everyone expected me to be involved in the details of the institution, to see them whenever they wanted to be seen, to attend innumerable committee meetings, to introduce every visiting speaker, to greet every returning alumnus, and, to boot, to entertain all faculty members and their spouses at lunch or dinner at least once a year. Most college presidents continue to live this kind of a harried, hurried, routine-full life with the result that they are always weary, always short of time to do the crucial business that they alone can do, that is, to organize, to coordinate, and to carry forward the institution to new intellectual and social fronts."

Source: W. H. Cowley, *Presidents, Professors, and Trustees*, ed. Donald T. Williams, Jr. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1980), 61, 65–66.

Joseph F. Kauffman, President, Rhode Island College (1968–1973):

"*The unspoken feelings.* Presidents, while gregarious in politically effective ways, are often lonely people. Often, only another president can understand a colleague's experience for it is difficult to share with others. This difficulty is not a contemporary phenomenon only. Writing his thoughts, William Rainey Harper, first president of the University of Chicago, penned these words in 1904:

'. . .Another feeling which gradually grows upon the occupant of the presidential chair is that of great loneliness—the feeling of separation from all his fellows. At certain times he realizes that in all truth he is alone; for those who are ordinarily close to him seem to be, and in fact, are, far away. On occasions of this kind courage is needed; strength, of a peculiar character. An ordinary man—and after all the college president is an ordinary man—cannot thus be cut off from his associates and fail to experience the sorrow of such separation. The college presidency means the giving up of many things, and not the least among them, one's most intimate friendships. Moreover, this feeling of separation, of isolation, increases with each recurring year, and, in spite of the most vigorous effort, it comes to be a thing of permanence. This is inevitable, and it is as sad as it is inevitable.'

"I do not wish to portray the president of a college or university as a paragon of virtue who ought to be above the sounds, smells, and feel of everyday fray that most of us experience. Yet most people do not experience the leader's role, the projection of others' frustrations and transference, the lacerating impact of being unable to convey to others that some problems are simply unsolvable by the president. Being a president is to feel exaggerated and false admiration about one's presumed power and graciousness bordering on obsequiousness for what one may be presumed to be able to do on another's behalf. Yet being a president is to feel anger and hate, too, fantastically projected on to the leader who seemingly will not make poverty and ignorance disappear and peace reign in the world.

"Presidents do not tell people what it feels like to have antiwar protesters hurl obscenities at them because they will not make war go away, as they defend free speech and association on

their campuses; or of the need for police protection for their families because of threats to their physical well-being; of bomb threat telephone calls; disruptions of honors convocations when parents expect respect for the achievements of their sons and daughters. I once closed down a college switchboard during a commencement exercise in 1970 with the directive to my staff, 'I do not want to receive word of any bomb threats during the graduation ceremony.'

"Presidents do not tell what it feels like to work for affirmative action, to override all criticism in bringing in minority students through special admissions and financial aid, and then have such staff and students organize a public protest, with mass-media coverage, to attack you as a symbol of institutional racism, and to demand more jobs and scholarships for minorities. 'Nothing personal,' someone once remarked to me on such an occasion.

"Presidents do not tell what it feels like to be threatened by a board member, to be vilified in the student newspaper, to deal with an arsonist, call in police, or explain to the governor why an emergency situation could not have been anticipated. Defending *the* faculty, when some are slothful and fakers; defending *the* students, when some are beyond any seeming redemption; these are necessary and everyday responsibilities, at least in the public presidency.

"Presidents do not tell what it feels like to fail in meeting fund-raising goals because of a recession or falling stock market, and have to freeze salaries and let some staff go; or fail to convince the governor or the legislature of the worthiness of an appropriation request crucial to maintaining the status quo. I once quoted a sensitive passage of poetry from Gibran during a fall convocation and an English professor vehemently told me if I meant what that passage said, I should see to it that his salary was raised—otherwise I was a phony.

"In these hard times of resource reallocation, it no longer is a watching game to see who or what is rewarded. Rather, faculty and staff watch to see who gets hurt as programs are reviewed for reductions and trade-offs. You may have to take your choice of continuing to exploit a grossly overworked business faculty, supplemented with 'moonlighters,' or become an enemy of the humanities by taking away some of their positions. And so it goes—needing a foreign policy regarding South Africa; trying to find money for women's athletics; arguing with the system office staff about their method of computing allocations for part-time adult students;

defending a request for support funds for basic skills as you try to explain grade inflation; assuring the faculty that you will await their recommendations before deciding, as you assure the legislative finance committee that you are firmly and fully in charge of your campus; and defending your use of qualitative peer judgments in faculty promotions, as the federal investigator asks you to show cause why you should not be deemed guilty of discrimination."

"*What to do next.* From my personal interviews with new presidents, I have had recounted to me numerous illustrations of the superhuman effort put forth in the first presidential year. All the presidents I talked with had stretched themselves to get to know everyone, accept all speaking engagements, visit with students and alumni, win the respect of the faculty, and on and on. There is a feeling of elation that one has survived it all. For many there was a joy in accomplishment and in having discovered one's own strengths and capacities. Yet, there is the beginning of a new and sobering thought—how long can I keep this up, and what will I do next?

"To stay on the job means compromise. One sees already the resistance to one's goals, the problems that lie ahead, the staff that will need to be changed or converted. How much more responsibility are you willing to take? If you really shake up the place, bring in new people, start some major battles—you must be prepared to stay awhile or leave the place in a shambles with your own reputation at stake. If you compromise, convert staff to your way of thinking, make do with things, how long can you keep up the pace? What will you do next?"

"My experience reveals that presidents, in their third or fourth year in office, worry about lack of tenure a great deal. This concern is especially poignant at age fifty-seven or fifty-eight, when starting a new career may be precluded and remaining as president indefinitely seems precarious indeed. There are health concerns and wonderment about whether or not a governing board would be compassionate and provide a graceful exit if one had to leave office.

"Some presidents are crushed by the idea of leaving the presidency. They have come to identify themselves and their worth with the office. They *have* to be president, which does not serve an institution very well. Despite the problems of the presidency, it is probably the most challenging, demanding, and what could be called 'peak' experience one can have. Probably no other position exists that will again engage a person as has a college presidency.

"As the role of president becomes more and more temporary and lacking in security, we in higher education will need to discover incentives to attract the quality of leadership so greatly needed. Increasingly, disincentives are complicating our choices. People committed to humane values and human growth must be the leaders of our educational enterprise. If people with such commitments are driven away from such posts, we will be in danger of making true the charges that we are running factories, not schools."

Source: Joseph F. Kauffman, *At the Pleasure of the Board: The Service of the College and University President*, (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1980), 89–92.

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James L. Fisher, President, Towson State University (1969–1979):

"I must stress. . .the fundamental importance in all presidential behavior of morality, sincerity, decency, respect for others, personal goodness, and true caring. If these humanistic characteristics do not shine through in a president's behavior, no application of presidential method or style will work. The president must maintain complete fidelity in his or her relationships with all individuals. I was best able to determine the extent to which I did this by facing myself each morning in the bathroom mirror. I looked at that unfreshened face, and asked myself whether what I was doing was in the best interest of the people I served—one at a time. And each morning, when I walked into the administration building, I would chuckle to myself as I wondered how in the world this ever happened to me. I know that I was no more confident, no wiser, no better educated, and certainly no better than most of the people I was expected to lead. But, by the time I had walked to the second floor where my office was, I was the president again, and I reveled in the job."

"Unless the president articulates a special vision, mission, or cause for the institution, he or she will not be viewed as a true leader. A mission is great and all-embracing, and includes lofty, humanistic concepts like peace, progress, freedom, and the welfare of the community and greater public as well as the special mission for the institution. Don't be afraid to dream and to share that dream—it will even inspire you. Lofty and sometimes rather vague goals promote morale and leadership effectiveness, so long as the goals are legitimate and progress toward their achievement is

made . . . Although important for all, a special presidential vision is especially important for small, liberal arts colleges and regional public institutions (two- and four-year). Within such situations, people need a more significant collective identity, a sense of pride that tends to inspire both new heights and sacrifices for a greater common cause."

"The dream should be repeated on every possible occasion, to remind both the president and the campus. And once the mission is settled on, it should not change dramatically. People can absorb only so many dreams and so much inspiration. Although the president may tire of repeating the vision, the campus won't tire of hearing it so long as its presentation is reasonable, sincere, and accomplished."

Source: James L. Fisher, *Power of the Presidency*, (New York: American Council on Education/Macmillan Publishing Co., 1984), xi, 57–59. Reprinted with permission of Macmillan Publishing Company from *Power of the Presidency* by James L. Fisher. Copyright © 1974 by Macmillan Publishing Company and American Council on Education.

Appendix B: Looking for the Ideal in Presidents and Spouses

Expectations of the skills, abilities, and personal characteristics that a potential president ought to bring to the job, and that are desirable in a spouse who participates in the presidency, are often at levels that can seldom be attained by mere human beings. They may also contain contradictory elements. Included here, as illustrative of carefully prepared lists of considerations, is one document intended to guide the selection of presidents and a second to guide review of the spouse's qualifications. We say "illustrative" intentionally, for these documents are presented, without any endorsement implied, to show how searches often are directed toward the ideal and the traditional.

We also include a perhaps apocryphal account of a search for a president for Yale University in the last century.

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The following selection illustrates the highly idealistic hopes that many presidential search committees start with.

"Some Attributes of an Ideal University President"

Statement made at the request of the Presidential Search Committee, by Terry Sanford, President, Duke University (1969–1984):

It is difficult to list the attributes of the ideal university president. As a member of the Association of American Universities, I have known many university presidents with diverse personalities and qualifications, and will attempt to think now of these hundred

or so AAU individuals to seek the common characteristics which mark the better presidents. There are other desirable characteristics, of course, which contribute to the attractiveness of an individual.

1. Optimistic attitude. So many presidents I have seen spend too much time pointing with fear and despairing of conditions. A person who is preoccupied with problems rather than opportunities is not the kind of person Duke needs.

2. Willingness to listen. The president must listen because this is the best way to learn, to glean ideas, to grow in understanding. Listening and the reputation for listening also help to build consensus. This characteristic requires patience, another trait to be noted, but listening is more than the capacity to endure foolishness; it is an active device for the execution of presidential duties.

3. Academic credentials. The president must have an earned doctorate from a reputable university. Three degrees are prevalent in the AAU: Ph.D., J.D., and M.D.

4. Intellectual approach. Some highly educated scholars are not intellectuals, so this trait does not come automatically. The president should be a person whose thought process is intellectual, who weighs evidence in seeking the truth, who is honest in expression of conclusions, who knows how to get to the heart of a question, and who avoids sham and pretense.

5. Dedication to the liberal education. The president of Duke should be unwaveringly dedicated to the liberal education of undergraduates, not diverted by the passing fads such as specialized job training, or computers at every bedside. Duke relates its studies well to the real world, but our kind of "Liberal Education" has endured for the centuries.

6. Appreciation of scholarship. This is as much an attitude as it is an accomplishment. The president must fully appreciate the world of scholarship and its techniques and requirements, and be willing to promote and defend it.

7. Comprehensive philosophy of the University. I know several presidents of major universities who see the presidency as a position of running just another kind of complex business. The president of Duke should have a broader view of the University's responsibility to society.

8. Dedication to Duke. There are those who move from university to university, doing always a workmanlike job. The president of Duke should be one who passionately loves Duke University.

9. Relevant experience. It may not be useful to seek a person who has had experience as a university president, although surely such candidates should not be ruled out. The experience that a candidate has had should be observed closely in order to determine what it reveals about the traits, character, and strengths of the candidate.

10. Accessibility. A person who is not available to petitioners, students, faculty, alumni, employees, and others who want to talk about matters of concern to them will not do well in the participatory community that is a university.

11. Enthusiasm. The prospective president should not be a cheerleader who manufactures enthusiasm. He or she should exhibit the characteristic of bringing genuine enthusiasm to job and life.

12. Energy. The Duke presidency is not a retirement haven. Physical and mental energy are essential traits to seek.

13. Creativity. Thinking new thoughts and trying new ventures makes for a more exciting university. Even more important than being creative is the ability and willingness to recognize, encourage, and reward creativity.

14. Decision-making ability. I have seen executives who shoot from the hip and those who take careful and deliberate aim; the latter are better but both are better than the person who is never quite willing to pull the trigger. Duke needs a president who will make a decision promptly and move on to the next case.

15. Willingness to take risks. Every act cannot be a sure thing. A president who will take some risks, in departing from the sure paths in pursuit of fresh ideas and innovative activities, makes life and universities exciting.

16. Boldness. There is a time for restraint, but there is more need for boldness, especially in setting goals for the university. A person who is inclined to fear failure, to seek only the sure objective, is not for Duke. A faint-hearted president cannot lead.

17. Demand for excellence. It is possible for a president to be demanding about inconsequential regulations, which is a flaw. The president must not compromise with Duke's tradition of excellence, but must always insist on standards and performance in keeping with Duke's tradition of excellence.

18. Ability to delegate. The president need not be a workaholic; it is difficult enough to keep up with what is left after delegating all that one can reasonably delegate. A good delegator

assigns the responsibility, doesn't interfere, and backs up the subordinate even if the decision is not quite the one the president would have made.

19. Natural confidence in others. This trait seems to be difficult for some presidents; it goes beyond mere delegation to subordinates, and reflects the confidence and respect that the president shows for other people in the community.

20. Firmness and flexibility. The president cannot be wishy-washy, changing his or her mind from day to day. Being flexible, however, is even more important, for the president's primary job is working with people, not machines, and being a person, not a computer.

21. Straightforwardness and openness. A president who is devious and distrusts the motives of others tires himself out before he gets his real work done. The prospective president of Duke should have a reputation for being open, honest, and straightforward with everyone.

22. Nondogmatic frame of mind. Duke does not need a president who already has all the answers.

23. Family stability. This is an item worth considering when looking at prospective candidates for the presidency.

24. Wisdom, judgment. There is no placement test that reveals wise judgment, but Duke obviously needs a president who can look at problems, controversies, enterprises, and tangled situations, and render decisions and take actions with wisdom and sound judgment. Performance in past jobs is the best measure of this characteristic.

25. Tolerance. The president must be tolerant of many legitimate views, idiosyncrasies, lifestyles, and peculiarities, all to be found on every worthwhile campus. It is not the president's role to insist on conformity. Tolerance takes practice and comes from experience.

26. Patience. The process of the university is not coldly efficient. Everyone within the university is entitled to express an opinion; the president must consider those opinions, whether wise or foolish, and must do so with courtesy and appreciation.

27. Compassion. A university cannot be run as the army, or the space program, or central prison. Often the president is the last resort to forgive transgressions, and should not mind being viewed as soft-hearted, remembering we are here to help young people build their lives.

28. Friendliness. An aloof person, no matter how accomplished in scholarly pursuits, should not be selected to take on a job defined primarily as dealing with people.

29. Calmness, self-assurance. The president should not be a person who panics in the face of crises or outrageous behavior.

30. Unwillingness to allow injustices, intolerance, or oppression. It should make Duke's president furious to see racial prejudice, mistreatment of less privileged people, or injustices in society. The good university president has an obligation to be a foe of this human meanness.

31. Involvement as a crusader. The university president should enlist in the great causes of the nation and humankind, and it does not hurt but, rather, helps the university for the president to be "intelligently radical."

32. Concern for employees. Duke employees, too, are University people, and their morale and happiness are the charge of the president.

33. Concern for students. There are some presidents who view students as a necessary bother. Students are not to be manipulated or taken for granted. The president's entire world should revolve around the welfare, development, and education of the students at the University.

34. Concern for faculty. It is easy to let the faculty members shift for themselves; the president should be concerned about the success of each, should be the champion of every faculty member, and should be helpful and attentive to their special needs and aspirations.

35. Concern for the community. A great university must be involved in community affairs, both state and local, and the president must be a leader in these endeavors.

36. Attention to public relations. The president is responsible for the public's view of the institution. Some people cannot or will not deal with the press. Duke's president must be willing to be open with the press.

37. Sense of business. The president is the CEO, and thereby responsible for the fiscal management, the balanced budget, the investments return, and the efficient business administration. Only the details can be delegated.

38. Sense of humor. If you don't laugh, you might cry.

Most of these thoughts have come as my mind has ranged across the presidents with whom I have been associated for the

past fifteen years. You will have quickly observed that I have not described myself. I have proposed far more exacting qualities. We are obligated to improve ourselves.

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"Is God a Yale Man?"

From Frank H.T. Rhodes, President, Cornell University (1977–):

When Yale University was searching for a president in the 19th century, one of its board members characterized the search for the individual—assumed, in those days, as inevitably a man—as follows: He had to be a leader, a magnificent speaker, a great writer, a good public relations man, a man of iron health and stamina, married to a paragon of virtue. His wife, in fact, had to be a mixture of Queen Victoria, Florence Nightingale, and the best-dressed woman of the year. We saw our choice as having to be a man of the world, but an individual with great spiritual qualities; an experienced administrator, but able to delegate; a Yale man, and a great scholar; a social philosopher, who though he had the solutions to the world's problems, had still not lost the common touch. After lengthy deliberation, we concluded that there was only one such person. But then a dark thought crossed our minds. We had to ask—*is God a Yale man?*

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While our preference is for the "free choice" spouse (see Chapter Nine), as being more compatible with the situation of most colleges and universities in modern American society, many search committees still have a more traditional view of what the spouse should be and do. We include here, for illustrative purposes, a list of "desired characteristics" recently prepared for the presidential search committee of a land-grant university as it considered the role of the spouse, obviously expected to be a woman.

"Traditional View of the Qualifications of a Spouse"

Home and Marriage

1. Partner in a healthy marriage.
2. Loving, wise parent to her children (if there are children).

3. Sees family life as important.

4. Maintains her home in an atmosphere that is helpful to her husband and his position.

Maturity and Education

1. Mature enough to act with taste and good manners in all situations.

2. Resourceful and self-sufficient.

3. Educated enough to be secure in her relationship with the academic community and tuned to academic life.

4. Takes pride in her appearance and grooms herself in a pleasing and attractive manner.

5. Shares her husband's commitment to the institution.

6. Accompanies him to university functions as often as possible.

7. Knowledgeable about university affairs but discreet in discussing or talking.

Social Concerns

1. Friendly and warm; likes people and lets them know she cares.

2. Reaches out to a wide circle of people: students, faculty, town. This can be done through various organizations.

3. Answers all invitations that are offered thus showing her appreciation. It would be impossible to accept all invitations.

4. Able to refuse invitations not in her best interest.

5. Not overly sensitive to the inevitable criticisms that come to administrators and their families. (Her children must be able to withstand this spotlight, also.)

Entertaining

1. Acts as hostess for her husband and accompanies him to university affairs as often as possible.

2. Oversees entertaining of university guests making sure it is done in the correct manner.

3. Enjoys entertaining and appears to do it with ease and dignity.

4. Entertains as much as possible in her home or other university buildings.

5. Makes use of her talents and abilities of the university community to help her in her entertaining.

Activities or Working Outside the Home

1. Pursues interests outside the home as her time permits.
2. Volunteers her services to the community.
3. Takes courses available to update her skills.
4. Takes a part-time or full-time job in her particular skill or profession if she is capable of doing this and still fulfilling her position as her husband's hostess. Being the wife of the president of a large university can be a full-time job, but there are certainly some unique women who are capable enough to pursue a career also.

Interviews

It is desirable to interview husband and wife together in their home and in other social situations. At some time, the wife of the candidate could be asked how she would interpret her position as the wife of a university president.

Interviewing friends and acquaintances within and out of the academic community where the candidate has previously lived would be helpful. In this way, the wife's lifestyle and talents could be ascertained.

Appendix C: Selected Annotated Bibliography on Governance of Higher Education

- Alden, Vernon R. "Corporate Boss, College President." *AGB Reports* 20, no. 3 (May/June 1978): 14–19.

Alden, a trustee of Brown University, has held both corporate and college chief officer positions. He stresses the difficulty in measuring the quality of an educational institution compared to a business enterprise, and urges trustees to "find ways to strengthen the office of the president, providing high quality administrative aides, a strong office of institutional research, and with the discretionary financial resources needed to energize the institution." (17)

- Alpert, Daniel. "Performance and Paralysis: The Organizational Context of the American Research University." *Journal of Higher Education* 56, no. 3 (May/June 1985): 241–281.

Alpert provides a matrix model of the research university, showing the sometimes conflicting demands of institutional departments and nationwide (or worldwide) disciplinary connections. The president emerges as either "mediator and spokesperson for an array of semi-autonomous academic units, providing administrative services to the campus as a whole under guidelines and legitimizing influence of the. . . faculty. . ." or as "leader of an interdisciplinary mission organization of faculty and staff. . . and charged with the responsibility of making decisions—on his or her

own, if necessary—regarding the overall campus mission." Both models "suggest responsibilities far exceeding authority." Presidents are called upon to play both roles, "the mix depending on the size of the campus, the reputation and national stature of the faculty, and the makeup of institutional and disciplinary sources of funding." (266)

- Alton, Bruce T. "Why Presidents Quit." *AGB Reports* 24, no. 1 (January/February 1982): 47–53.

Alton compares reasons presidents gave for resignations in 1981 compared to his 1971 study. Alternative employment opportunities led the list of reasons in both years. "One of the most dramatic shifts in rank order is the notable increase in the governing board relationship as an influential factor in resignation. In 1971 it was ranked 14th among weighted factors; in 1981 it ranked 3rd." (50)

- Argyris, Chris and Richard M. Cyert. *Leadership in the '80s: Essays on Higher Education.* Cambridge: Harvard University, Institute of Educational Management, 1980.

Essays by the authors and by the late Stephen K. Bailey examine likely scenarios for higher education in this decade. The editors distinguish between leadership and management: "Management is the art of allocating resources within the organization in a manner designed to reach the goals of the organization." "Leadership is the art of stimulating the human resources within the organization to concentrate on total organizational goals rather than on individual or subgroup goals." (63)

- Ashby, Eric. "The Scientist as University President." The Arthur Compton Memorial Lecture, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., 13 May 1964.

Ashby draws on his long experience as scientist and administrator in Great Britain to discuss some of the ways in which those careers both overlap and differ, and to present some lessons for other presidents.

- Atwell, Robert H., and Madeleine F. Green. *Academic Leaders as Managers.* New Directions for Higher Education 9, no. 4. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1981.

Chapters deal with the broad range of management issues that academic leaders must face, including collective bargaining, financial management, and the relations of institutions to federal and state governments. One chapter, by Green, discusses the problem of developing leaders for academic institutions, urging that "serious attention" be paid "to leadership development" in the special milieu that is higher education.

- Balderston, Frederick. *Managing Today's University*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974.

Based on the work of the Ford Foundation Program for Research in University Administration at the University of California (1968–1973), Balderston's book outlines ways in which universities can manage themselves so as to justify their continued existence and be accountable in an era of increasing scrunity by public funding sources. The job of president of a major American university is described as "one of the most interesting in American organizational life," "because it is so demanding." (93)

- Baldridge, J. Victor, David V. Curtis, George Ecker, Gary L. Riley. *Policy Making and Effective Leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1978.

The last in the series resulting from the Stanford Project on Academic Governance, this book stresses the diversity in the American system of higher education and argues that management and governance differ systematically across types of institutions. There is also a brief history of governance in American higher education, "Special Study: Historical Developments, 1636–1970."

- Benezet, Louis T., Joseph Katz, and Frances W. Magnusson. *Style and Substance: Leadership and the College Presidency*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1981.

Based on some 250 interviews at 25 colleges and universities, the authors analyze presidential styles with emphasis on human dynamics. The specific leadership styles identified are "The Take-Charge President," "The Standard-Bearer President," "The Organization President," "The Moderator President," "The Explorer President," and "The Founding President."

- Bennis, Warren. *The Leaning Ivory Tower.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1973.

Bennis provides eleven models of the academic presidency that can work (71–77):

(1) The problem-solver manager.
(2) The low-profile technocrat.
(3) The leader-mediator.
(4) The collegiate manager.
(5) The communal-tribal or postmodern leader.
(6) The charismatic leader.
(7) The 'law and order' president.
(8) The absentee pluralist.
(9) The bureaucrat-entrepreneur.
(10) The interregnum solution.
(11) The Renaissance or protean man.

- Bennis, Warren. *The Unconscious Conspiracy: Why Leaders Can't Lead.* New York: AMACOM (a division of the American Management Association), 1976.

Bennis urges that, somehow, the leader find time to deal with the important and the nonroutine: "The leader, at every level, must be partly a conceptualist, something more than just an 'idea man.' By that I mean someone with a kind of entrepreneurial vision, a sense of perspective, and, most of all, the time to spend thinking about the forces that will affect the destiny of that person's shop or that institution." (161)

- Berendzen, Richard. *Is My Armor Straight? A Year in the Life of a University President.* Bethesda, Md.: Adler & Adler, 1986.

The president of American University gives a day-by-day account of the academic year 1983-84, painting a picture of incredible variety and also great stress upon the personal lives of his whole family.

- Blake, Robert R., Jane Srygley Mouton, and Martha Williams. *The Academic Administrator Grid.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1981.

The authors describe five major styles of academic administration: "Caretaker," "Authority-Obedience," "Comfortable and

Pleasant," "Constituency-Centered," and "Team Administration." They believe that the last one, Team Administration, works best. It "seeks to achieve full participation of [organization] members, pursuing common goals and objectives that integrate both personal and institutional perspectives." (237)

- Brown, David G. *Leadership Vitality: A Workbook for Academic Administrators.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1979.

A practical handbook based on interviews, workshops, and projects in which presidents and chief academic officers participated, *Leadership Vitality* is based on the premise that leaders can learn best from their colleagues, especially as their ideas provide "thought-*starters*" rather than simply produce imitative techniques.

- Carbone, Robert F. *Presidential Passages.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1981.

Carbone deals with a group of 1,406 immediate past presidents of colleges and universities in 1979, examining the "passage" from president to another career stage or to retirement. More retired than moved elsewhere. "Some returned to teaching, but three times as many moved to some other administrative post in academe, and four times as many found interesting things to do outside academe." (11)

- Clark, Burton R. *The Higher Education System: Academic Organization in Cross-National Perspective.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983.

This broad-ranging study compares basic elements of higher education organization in different countries, as well as ways in which universal tasks find unique solutions. Clark concentrates on (1) the division of academic labor, everywhere organized into a crisscrossing structure of institutions on one hand and disciplines on the other; (2) values and beliefs within academic systems; and (3) distribution of power and authority within systems. He discusses how change occurs and is conditioned by prior structures and practices. He concludes that "it is essential to divide power, support variety, and legitimate disorder" if higher education is to accomplish its essential, knowledge-centered purpose. (264)

- Cleveland, Harlan. *The Costs and Benefits of Openness: Sunshine Laws and Higher Education*. Washington, D.C.: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 1985.

Cleveland postulates a "trilemma," assessing the relative weights to be given to (1) the public's right to know, (2) the right to individual privacy, and (3) the right of the public to have its institutions governed efficiently and effectively. The report concludes that "the presumption must be in favor of openness," but suggests some exemptions from that policy in the interests of privacy and organizational effectiveness. Confidentiality is urged when dealing with individual personnel matters, collective bargaining strategy, attorney/client discussions involving litigation, real estate matters, security issues, evaluation of individuals, self-education sessions by governing boards, and presidential selection. (31)

- Clodius, Joan E., and Diane Skomas Magrath, eds. *The President's Spouse: Volunteer or Volunteered?* Washington, D.C.: National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, 1984.

This book consists of essays by wives of land-grant university presidents dealing with all aspects of the spousal role.

- Cohen, Michael D., and James G. March. *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974.

Cohen and March combine factual survey material on college and university presidents' careers with a description of the university as an "organized anarchy" on which presidents can make very little impact.

- Commission on Strengthening Presidential Leadership, Clark Kerr, dir. *Presidents Make A Difference: Strengthening Leadership in Colleges and Universities*. Washington, D.C.: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 1984.

Based on more than 800 interviews with presidents, spouses, trustees, and others familiar with higher education institutions, the Commission's report makes "Recommendations and

Suggestions" in areas ranging from the search and selection of a college president through provisions for exit from the job. Mainly directed to trustees, chapters also deal with the use of public authority and with the conduct of the president.

- Corbally, Marguerite Walker. *The Partners: Sharing the Life of a College President.* Danville, Ill.: Interstate, 1977.

Corbally wrote the first book drawing attention to the special role of the spouse of a university president, based on her own experience at the University of Illinois and that of other spouses whom she surveyed.

- Corson, John J. *Governance of Colleges and Universities.* rev. ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1975.

Corson stresses the need for leadership in higher education institutions, as elsewhere in organizations, but notes the difficulties in exercising it: attacks on leadership throughout the society, diffusion of authority and multiple constituencies within institutions, and a tendency for the chief executive to be pushed out of central educational functions. Corson suggests ways in which presidents can consult widely, and be held accountable for decisions, and at the same time "be free at all times to act." (262)

- Cote, Lawrence S. "Presidents and Boards Agree on Leadership Roles." *AGB Reports* 21, no. 1 (January/February 1985): 30.

A survey of 234 presidents and board chairs indicated that being a "Visionary" was the top priority role for presidents. Presidents thought "Trustee Rapport Builder/Adviser" ranked second, while trustees put it third, behind "P.R. Specialist/Image Builder." "Scholar/Teacher" was ranked 19th and 20th in priority among roles by presidents and board chairs respectively.

- Cowley, William H. *Presidents, Professors, and Trustees.* Edited by Donald T. Williams, Jr. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1980.

Published after his death, this book brings together Cowley's work on the history of boards of trustees, and on the relative roles in academic governance of different constituencies: faculty, administrators, students, alumni, and outside groups.

- Crawford, Anna Lee. "Skills Perceived to Lead to Success in Higher Education Administration." Results of survey, respondents from institutions in National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges.

The ten most-needed skills for administrators included, in order (21–25):

(1) ethics, honesty, and integrity in implementing institutional goals;

(2) being honest, open, and dependable with subordinates;

(3) clarity in expressing thoughts orally or in writing;

(4) knowledge of institutional resources;

(5) open to new ideas; able to adjust to meet new situations;

(6) possessing stability, objectivity, and composure in times of stress;

(7) thinking well in the face of the unexpected in meetings;

(8) fairness and knowledge in applying personnel procedures;

(9) diplomacy, firmness, and self-confidence in implementing planning decisions with a minimum of institutional disruption;

(10) ability to deal with frustrations without hostility or defensiveness.

- Cyert, Richard M. "Governance and Administration of the University." In *Disorders in Higher Education*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979.

This presents a fairly standard view of relations between president, board, and faculty. The president's power is seen partly as a function of individual personality but "limited to his influence on the behavior of others."

- Davis, William E. *Nobody Calls Me Doctor*. Boulder, Col.: Pruett Publishing Co., 1972.

Written while Davis was president of Idaho State University, this autobiography gives a humorous glimpse of the life of a football coach turned university president, and that of his family.

- Dodds, Harold W. *The Academic President: Educator or Caretaker?* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962.

Dodds describes the traits of leadership: "The truly successful [presidents] have certain attributes in common. Chief among them are a quality that elicits the confidence of faculties and thoughtful laymen, and a gift for sustaining a climate of intellectual inquiry and a zeal for quality." (v)

- Fisher, James L. *Power of the Presidency.* New York: American Council on Education and Macmillan Publishing Co., 1984.

Fisher describes five types of power that the academic president can exercise, ranging in order from the least to most effective: (1) coercive power, (2) reward power, (3) legitimate power, (4) expert power, and (5) charismatic power. Fisher believes that: "The leader who combines charismatic power with expert and legitimate power, adding a carefully measured portion of reward power and little or no coercive power, achieves maximum effectiveness." (40) The book also contains a number of helpful and humorous maxims for presidents.

- Greenleaf, Robert K. *Servant Leadership: A Journey into the Nature of Legitimate Power and Greatness.* New York: Paulist Press, 1977.

"We live at a time when holders of power are suspect and actions that stem from authority are questioned," in many institutions throughout our society. (5) People "will not casually accept the authority of existing institutions. *Rather, they will freely respond only to individuals who are chosen as leaders because they are proven and trusted as servants.*" (10) Such leaders begin by wanting to serve and then deciding to lead, in contrast to people who start by wanting to be leaders out of a drive to power or for personal gain.

- Haak, Harold H. *Parable of a President.* Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1982.

A fictionalized account of a year in the life of a university president designed to present Haak's views on how universities work and can be managed, given the inherent stresses between administrative and professional (faculty) authority within the institution.

- Hesburgh, Theodore M. *The Hesburgh Papers.* Kansas City, Mo.: Andrews and McMeel, 1979.

The long-time president of Notre Dame University has written on a variety of topics relating to higher education, religion, and world affairs. Of particular interest is his first chapter, "The University President," relating the advice his predecessor, Father John Cavanaugh, passed on to him when he first became president.

- Hutchins, Robert M. *Freedom, Education, and the Fund: Essays and Addresses, 1946–1956.* New York: Meridian Books, 1956.

This collection spans the later years of Hutchins' presidency at the University of Chicago and the period when he headed the Fund for the Republic. Of special interest is his comparison of the two jobs, and a review of the difficulties of "getting things done" as a university president, in two lectures given almost ten years apart and brought together under the title, "The Administrator: Leader or Officeholder?" (167–196) He concludes that, in both university and foundation, "The administrator must have a clear, true vision of the end, and he must have courage, fortitude, justice, prudence, and patience in order to pursue it through all kinds of weather." (196)

- Ingram, Richard T. and Associates. *Handbook of College and University Trusteeship.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1980.

In the words of its subtitle, this book is "A Practical Guide for Trustees, Chief Executives, and Other Leaders Responsible for Developing Effective Governing Boards." Twenty chapters written by experts and a section on "Resources" cover all aspects of trusteeship from its evolution in medieval universities through planning, organization, oversight, finances, and self-assessment.

- Jencks, Christopher, and David Riesman. *The Academic Revolution.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1968.

A "sociological and historical analysis of American higher education," this book takes as its central theme the rise of the academic profession, the faculty, to the central position of power within academia. It also examines the relations between higher education institutions and groups within the society: religious denominations, racial and ethnic groups, professions, and the "upwardly mobile."

• Kauffman, Joseph F. *At the Pleasure of the Board: The Service of the College and University President.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1980.

Kauffman has written one of the best descriptions of the American college and university presidency, its problems, challenges, and opportunities.

• Keller, George. *Academic Strategy: The Management Revolution in American Higher Education.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Keller urges a more change-oriented management style for colleges and universities, and outlines steps to be taken to implement strategic management in higher education.

• Kerr, Clark. *The Uses of the University.* 3rd ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.

In the Godkin Lectures at Harvard in 1963, then President of the University of California Clark Kerr described and analyzed recent developments affecting American higher education, and especially the major research university—the "multiversity." The president of such an institution was depicted as carrying out a variety of roles, including "initiator," "gladiator," and that of "mediator": "the central mediator among the values of the past, the prospects for the future, and the realities of the present," and "the mediator among groups and institutions" inside and outside the university. (37)

The book was republished with new "Postscripts" in 1972 and 1982, the latter reviewing what had happened to the research universities in the 20 years since the lectures were first given.

• Killian, James R., Jr. *The Education of a College President: A Memoir.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985.

One of a number of memoirs of former college and university presidents, Killian's book describes the special set of arrangements that MIT has put into effect to ensure an orderly transition of well-prepared presidents.

- Lee, Eugene C., and Frank M. Bowen. *The Multicampus University: A Study of Academic Governance.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971. *Managing Multicampus Systems: Effective Administration in an Unsteady State.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1975.

These two volumes, published under the auspices of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education and its successor, the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, are the most thorough analyses available on governance and administration in multicampus universities and systems.

- Lowell, A. Lawrence. *What a University President Has Learned.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.

President of Harvard University from 1909 to 1933, Lowell shared some lessons he had learned concerning two topics: university administration, and the substantive work of a university—intellectual development of students. He stresses the need for the president to have a "pattern," an overall plan or vision for the institution.

- McCorkle, Chester O., Jr., and Sandra Orr Archibald. *Management and Leadership in Higher Education.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1982.

The authors base their suggestions for effective management on a study of the University of California system during the 1970s. They reject both a "political power" model and the "organized anarchy" model, as well as the corporate business model, arguing instead that "academic leaders need to build consensus about objectives and goals through complicated and largely political processes regarding what the institution should be, in what direction it should move, and what it should accomplish." (41) "Resource allocation is the most powerful management tool available to academic administrators." (77) As a leadership strategy, the authors recommend "management by anticipation": "Reducing the effects of shocks and surprises is essential in managing, particularly under uncertainty. By keeping change more or less constant and incremental, even when drastic action must be taken, planning can remove much of the trauma endemic in crisis management." (191)

- McGregor, Douglas. "On Leadership." *Antioch Notes* 31, no. 9 (1 May 1954).

As he left the presidency of Antioch College, McGregor compared his expectations at the beginning of his service with the reality of college governance, concluding that there was no way in which a president could avoid the ultimate responsibility for decision making within the organization.

- McLaughlin, Judith Block and David Riesman. "The Shady Side of Sunshine," *Teachers College Record*, vol. 87, no. 4, Summer 1986.

This is a case study of a presidential search carried out in a state with strict "Sunshine Laws," and details the 1982–83 search for a new president for the University of Florida.

- March, James G. *How We Talk and How We Act: Administrative Theory and Administrative Life.* The Seventh David D. Henry Lecture, University of Illinois, September 1980.

The title of the lecture derives from March's thesis that administrators' actions are often more sensible than the theories used to explain them.

He also argues that, in any organization, "Management may be extremely important even though managers are indistinguishable," like light bulbs (21), and that "administrators are vital as a class but not as individuals." (23)

- Millett, John D. *Management, Governance and Leadership: A Guide for College and University Administrators.* New York: AMACOM (A division of American Management Associations), 1980.

Millett distinguishes between management, governance, and leadership. Governance deals with the purposes, policies, programs, and resources of the enterprise; management with work planning and work performance. Both faculty and administration are involved in governance and management, as Millett believes "The most important managers in a university are the faculty members themselves," for they are "managers of learning." (115) The leadership role centers on the president, both within the institution and as its external representative. Millett offers some practi-

cal suggestions for organizing the office of the president to provide the necessary consultation and support for the president, "the person in the middle."

- Munitz, Barry. "Trading Places: A dialogue between Dr. Barry Munitz and Dr. Robert Kuhn on managing modern institutions." *Texas Business* (October 1983): 106–114.

Another look at the job of a university chief executive compared to the business CEO by someone who has held both jobs. Munitz believes there are great similarities and says, "The roles I've played in creating structures and managing people have been remarkably parallel." (106)

- Muzzin, Linda J., and George S. Tracz. "Characteristics and Careers of Canadian University Presidents." *Higher Education* 10 (1981): 335–351.

Muzzin and Tracz provide the first systematic demographic information on university presidents in Canada. They found that current and immediate past presidents held office for about eight years.

- Nason, John W. *The Nature of Trusteeship: The Role and Responsibilities of College and University Boards.* Washington, D.C.: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 1982.

Nason outlines trustee responsibilities and offers practical suggestions for board effectiveness.

- Nason, John W. *Presidential Assessment: A Guide to the Periodic Review of the Performance of Chief Executives.* rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 1984.

- Nason, John W. *Presidential Search: A Guide to the Process of Selecting and Appointing College and University Presidents.* rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 1984.

In these two handbooks, Nason provides practical guidance to boards of trustees and search committees as they select, and later review the performance of, the college or university president.

- Ness, Frederic W. *An Uncertain Glory.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1971.

An account of what it is like to be a college president written in the form of a series of letters from a fictional president to an up-and-coming administrator, based on Ness's own experience as a university president.

- Ostar, Roberta H. *Myths and Realities: 1983 Report on the AASCU Presidential Spouses.* Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1983.

This second AASCU survey of spouses of presidents of state colleges and universities explores careers, living conditions, institutional support for the spousal role, and attitudes of spouses.

- Perkins, James A., ed. *The University as an Organization.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1973.

The fourteen essays compare the university with other kinds of organizations—government bureaus, corporations, foundations—noting that the university, while sharing some characteristics with them, is essentially different. Universities in the United States also are compared with those abroad, and with one another, as the authors observe the diversity of higher education in the United States. In a concluding chapter, "Missions and Organization: A Redefinition," Perkins states that universities suffer from "organizational indigestion because they have swallowed multiple and conflicting missions." (247) He suggests some modification or change in balance among missions and explores the probable consequences for universities, including a president "increasingly less visible as a personality. . . in short, the organization man." (259)

- Riesman, David. *On Higher Education: The Academic Enterprise in an Era of Rising Student Consumerism.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1980.

Riesman is the author of a large number of articles and books that deal with the college and university president; this book describes the current environment in which presidential leadership must be exercised.

- Sammartino, Peter. *The President of a Small College.* New York: Cornwall Books, 1982.

The chancellor of Fairleigh Dickinson University offers practical advice on management and administration problems, including the "mechanical details" of running a small college.

- Sergiovanni, Thomas J., and John E. Corbally, eds. *Leadership and Organizational Culture: New Perspectives on Administrative Theory and Practice.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

This series of essays brings a "cultural perspective" to understanding the role of leadership in "loosely structured organizations," including many public institutions, research and development entities, and educational organizations. (ix)

Warren Bennis's essay, "Transformative Power," describes a form of leadership in which "symbolic expression becomes the major tool of leadership. . . Effectiveness is. . . measured by the extent to which 'compelling vision' empowers others to excel; the extent to which meanings are found in one's work, and the extent to which individual and organization are bound together by common commitment in a mutually rewarding symbiotic relationship." (70–71)

- Stoke, Harold W. *The American College President.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959.

Stoke's book is one of a number written by former college and university presidents synthesizing personal experience with an interpretation of the presidential role in general. Stoke stresses the importance to the president of a "philosophy of education" to provide a sense of direction for the institution as well as to serve as a guide to everyday administrative decision making. Within the U.S. context, such a philosophy, Stoke believes, must incorporate at least three components: "a belief in education as salvation; an acceptance of education as an instrument of national policy; some views on educational utilitarianism; and some conclusions on the issue of classes versus masses." (162)

- Storr, Richard J. *Harper's University: The Beginnings.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

One of the best of the large number of institutional histories, Storr's book centers on the figure of the founder-president of the University of Chicago: William Rainey Harper.

- Trow, Martin. *Comparative Reflections on Leadership in Higher Education.* The Ninth David D. Henry Lecture, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, October 1984.

Trow outlines four dimensions or functions of leadership in universities: (1) the symbolic—to provide effective expression of the goals of the institution to those inside and out; (2) the political—to resolve conflicting demands of constituencies; (3) the managerial—to provide administrative guidance to the organization; and (4) the academic—to recognize excellence and promote it in the teaching and research functions. In contrast to Cohen and March, he believes that presidents do make a difference, and that "much of this capacity to respond creatively and successfully to difficult, and in some cases to life-threatening, circumstances [affecting higher education institutions in recent years] must be attributed to the ability of institutional leaders to innovate, to motivate, above all to lead." (8) He compares the American university presidency to its counterpart in Europe, outlining a perspective of "American exceptionalism," and explains the unique character of the American experience in historical terms.

- Vaughan, George B. *The Community College Presidency.* American Council on Education/Macmillan Series in Higher Education. New York: American Council on Education and Macmillan Publishing Co., 1986. Forthcoming.

Vaughan has drawn on his own experience as a community college president as well as upon survey data to give the first thorough picture of the community college presidency. There is a chapter on the role of the spouse, and Peggy A. Vaughan, the author's wife, has contributed a section, "Being There: One Spouse's Perspective."

- Walker, Donald E. *The Effective Administrator: A Practical Approach to Problem Solving, Decision Making, and Campus Leadership.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1979.

Intended to be more a practical than a theoretical guide to college administration, Walker's book is based on his years of experience as a president. He outlines a political model of the university and advocates democratic management styles as being consonant with the deeper purposes and procedures of academe.

- Wells, Herman B *Being Lucky: Reminiscences and Reflections.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

Wells, president of Indiana University for 25 years, looks back on his life and experiences. A considerable portion of the book deals with his national and international service, affirming his belief that educational leaders have responsibilities beyond the campus and state.

- Wilson, Logan. *American Academics, Then and Now.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Chapter 4, "Administrators," discusses the seemingly inherent tensions between faculty and administrators, exacerbated in the late 1960s and 1970s by the "destructive" forces "exerted by the cohorts of conflict" who attempted to turn the university into "an arena or battleground for fighting out the main issues of the day." (98)

- Wood, Miriam Mason. *Trusteeship in the Private College.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

Wood interviewed presidents, board chairpersons, and board members at ten private liberal arts colleges in an investigation of informal decision-making processes, power structures, and board-president relations. She identifies three major board styles: ratifying (the board is a "rubber stamp" for the president); corporate (following a business model); and participatory (trustees have much informal contact with campus groups). She concludes that: "With all three operating styles, the actual policymaking role of the board is considerably reduced from the theoretical ideal," mainly because

boards and their committees focus on functional and administrative concerns rather than adopting a broader and more "strategic perspective" on the whole institution.

She also notes that trustees' expectations of presidents tend toward managerial and bureaucratic roles, dominating the "intellectual and heroic ends of educational leadership." At the same time, presidents serve as "guardians of the curriculum," preventing trustee incursions into academic areas.

- Wood, Miriam Mason. "Crosscurrents and Undercurrents in the Trustee-President Relationship." *Educational Record* 65, no. 1 (Winter 1984).

Based on a study of presidents and trustees in ten private liberal arts colleges, Wood's article outlines some of the subtle interchanges in president/trustee relationships, and suggests some changes in committee structures to aid trustees in dealing effectively with major policy questions.

- Wriston, Henry M. *Academic Procession: Reflections of a College President.* New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1959.

Wriston was president of Lawrence University (Wisconsin), and later of Brown University. He has much wisdom and good advice for presidents as they deal with trustees, faculty, administration, students, alumni, and the public.

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